TWO RIDDLES OF THE EXETER BOOK.

AFTER all the ingenious labour that has been bestowed on the riddles contained in the Exeter Book, the solution of many of them is still a matter of reasonable doubt. In most instances, it is true, one or other of the conjectures that have been offered seems sufficiently likely to deserve provisional acceptance, and the difficulties that prevent it from being fully convincing may hereafter be removed by a better understanding of the Old English syntax and vocabulary, or by the discovery of some literary parallel. With regard to two of the riddles, however,—those numbered V and XC in the editions of Wülker and Tupper—I am convinced that none of the explanations hitherto proposed can possibly be correct. I am not equally sure that I have succeeded where others have failed. The novel solutions presented in this paper may prove to be mistaken; but they seem to me to take account of indications which former interpreters have ignored, and for this reason I venture to hope that they may, at least, afford some hints that may lead more skilful inquirers to the right conclusions.

I. THE FIFTH RIDDLE.

The text of this riddle, as I propose to read and punctuate it, is as follows:

Ic sceal þrāgbysig þegne mīnum,
hring*um* hæfted, hȳran georne,
mīn bed brecan, breahtme cȳþan
þæt mē halswriþan hlāford sealde.
Oft me slǣpwērigne secg oðþe mēowle
grētan ēode; ic him gromheortum
wintercēald oncweþe; wearm lim [onfēhð]
gebundenne bē*ag*; hwīlum bersteð.
Sē þēah biþ on þonce þegne mīnum,
medwīsum men, mē þæt sylfe,
þær wiht wite ond wordum mīn
on spēd mæge spel gesecgan.

For the second hemistich of l. 7, which as it stands in the MS. is metrically defective, Professor Tupper proposes '[þæt] wearm[e] lim.' This involves taking 'bersteð' as transitive—no very serious objection,

as the transitive use, though not found in O.E., is common in M.E. But the assumption of the omission of one word at the end of a verse seems simpler than that of two separate errors and a construction not elsewhere found. The other deviations from the MS., 'hringum' for 'hringan,' 'bēag' for 'bæg' (which may however be a dialect form), and 'on spēd' for 'onsped,' are generally accepted. Tupper's transposition 'bersteð hwīlum' improves the versification, but does not affect the sense.

I suggest the following translation:

> Careful of the appointed time, I must listen attentively, secured by rings, to my servant, break my bed, and loudly make known that my lord [*or* the Lord] has given me a collar. Often has man or maid come to greet me when I was heavy with sleep; cold as winter do I answer those angry-hearted ones; the warm limb receives the ring bound [upon it]; sometimes it bursts. Yet will it be a joy to my servant (foolish man!), and to me likewise, when he knows a thing, and is able successfully to express my message in words.

One or two points in this translation require comment. The compound 'þrāgbysig,' which occurs only here, is commonly explained to mean 'occupied for a time,' or 'periodically employed.' But in all the other compounds of 'bysig'—'līfbysig,' 'nȳdbysig,' 'synbysig,' 'tihtbysig'—the first element denotes the object of concern, and I see no reason why it may not do so here. In l. 9, Professor Tupper takes 'sē' as the masculine pronoun (though in his glossary he treats it, I think correctly, as a particle). His translation of the concluding lines is as follows: 'It (the ring) is, however, acceptable to my thane, a moderately wise man, and to me likewise, if I (an inanimate thing) can know anything and in words successfully tell my story.' I find it difficult to see any meaning in the passage as thus rendered. The etymological translation of 'medwīs' as 'moderately wise' is misleading; the word was used to render 'hebes' and 'tardus,' and is therefore, like the other compounds of 'med-,' a term of disparagement. It seems at first sight plausible to regard these lines as an example of the convention by which the personified unknown of a riddle is represented as feeling satisfaction when its identity is guessed. This would involve taking the subjunctives 'wite' and 'mæge' as of the second person. Possibly this may be the true interpretation, but on the whole I am inclined to prefer a different view, which will be stated when I come to explain my conjecture as to the answer to the riddle.

We have now to ask what the mysterious thing can be which, at the summons of its servant, breaks its bed and presents itself, secured by rings, to proclaim its possession of a collar; and which

complains of having been unkindly disturbed when it would rather sleep. Is it, as Dietrich at first supposed, a bell, or is it a millstone, as he afterwards concluded? Or is Professor Trautmann right in thinking it to be a flail? These three answers are all that are mentioned in Professor Tupper's excellent edition of the Riddles, and I am not aware that any other has been given. It will perhaps be admitted that none of the three looks at first sight very likely. No doubt the kind of allegory employed in mediæval riddles is often designedly far-fetched, and we ought not to reject any solution merely because the figures of speech which it attributes to the writer appear to us strained. At the same time, we may rightly decline to be convinced that the right answer has been found unless it can be shown that every symbolical statement in the riddle is a conceivable (even if not a strikingly appropriate) rendering of something that can be said in plain prose about the object supposed to be described. So far as I know, no attempt has yet been made to assign to every detail of the Fifth Riddle its equivalent in matter of fact, and I think it would not be easy to do so on any of the three hypotheses hitherto proposed. The words 'wearm lim gebundenne bēag hwilum berstеð' have been supposed to refer to the bursting of the millstone when it gets heated. This does not seem very plausible, but it is better than the attempt made by Professor Tupper, who adopts the 'bell' solution. He merely suggests that if a large bell be meant, the 'warm limb' may be the clapper, 'which bursts the ring with which it is bound,' and that if a small bell is meant, it may be the hand of the ringer. He attempts to support the latter conjecture by referring to the fact that in the Old English monastic sign-language the gesture signifying a deacon was to move the hand as if ringing a hand-bell—which is surely nothing to the purpose.

My own conjecture is that the riddle relates to some definite story of necromancy. The dead man, attentive to the call of his 'servant,' the magician, comes forth from his grave bound in chains ('hringum hæfted[1]'), and wearing a magic collar something like that of Morann in the Irish legend, which 'used to be put round the foot or the hand of the person whose guilt was in question, and if he were false it would close itself round him till it cut off his foot or his hand; but if he were innocent it would not close itself round him' (Stokes-Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Dritte Serie, I, 208). Often has 'man or maid,' in quest of an

[1] Professor Tupper appositely cites *Genesis* 762, 'Hæft mid hringa gespann' (said of Satan).

oracular answer, caused the dead man to be summoned, unwilling, from his rest; 'cold as winter he answers them.' The oracular collar, cold from the tomb, is placed round the warm limb. (In this form of the belief, apparently, the collar bursts if the accusation is false; but possibly 'hwīlum bersteð' may refer not to the ring, but to the limb, so that the resemblance to the Irish legend would be complete.) It is a joy to the magician (who is called a 'foolish man,' for it is folly to lose one's immortal soul for forbidden knowledge) when he knows the truth, and is able to express in words the revelation he has received; the dead man himself also rejoices that he has not been summoned to no purpose.

I am perfectly aware that this interpretation of the riddle involves much unsupported assumption, and is in several points open to objection. It does, however, seem to me that the detailed paraphrase which I have given of the text affords ground for believing that the hypothesis on which it is based has *some* affinity (if only a distant one) to the right solution.

II. The Ninetieth Riddle.

This enigma, the only one in the collection that is not in Old English, is printed in Professor Tupper's edition as follows:

Mirum mihi videtur: lupus ab agno tenetur;
obcurrit agnus [rupi] et capit viscera lupi.
Dum starem et mirarem, vidi gloriam parem:
duo lupi stantes et tertium tribul[antes]:
quattuor pedes habebant, cum septem oculis videbant.

The text as here given contains six corrections of the MS. Three of these, 'mirarem' for 'misarē,' 'duo' for 'dui,' and 'tribulantes' for 'tribul' (there is no gap in the MS.) were made long ago, and may be regarded as certain; a fourth, the transposition of 'videtur mihi,' was suggested by Thorpe, and is obviously plausible; the other two, the insertion of 'rupi' and the substitution of 'parem' for 'magnam' (sic), were first proposed by Professor Holthausen in 1906. Line 2, as it stands in the MS., is metrically imperfect, and as 'rupi' is the only possible rhyme to 'lupi,' Holthausen's emendation is highly probable. If it be accepted it confirms the corrections in ll. 1 and 3, for a writer who rhymes three lines out of five would not be likely to omit to rhyme the other two when it could so easily be done. Professor Tupper's text of the riddle seems therefore to be almost certainly correct.

The lines are accentual hexameters something like those of

Commodianus, from which they differ in having, instead of the normal cæsura, an incision at the end of the third foot, and in obeying the classical rules of elision. As emended, they are metrically correct according to the scheme; 'tertium' must be read as 'tertsum,' and 'oculis' as 'oc'lis.' Verses with this precise rhythm are rare; examples nearly similar occur in the Berne riddles, and in some Lombard epitaphs (see Manitius, *Lateinische Litteratur des Mittelalters*, Erster Theil, p. 193).

The various attempts that have been made to solve the riddle may be found in Professor Tupper's notes. I propose here to speak only of a speculation put forward a few years ago, which has received from some eminent scholars an approval which is in my opinion wholly undeserved.

In the *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, Vol. CXI (1903), pp. 59 ff., appeared an article by Dr Edmund Erlemann, reviving in a new form the theory of Dietrich, that the riddle was a charade on the name of Cynewulf. According to the writer, the meaning of the first two lines is that the letters of the name contain the words 'ewu' ('ewe') and 'wulf,' but that 'ewu' can be got only by taking the bowels (the letters 'wu') out of 'wulf.' Now if the riddle had had the word 'ovis' in place of 'agnus,' this interpretation would have had some plausibility. Mediæval riddles abound in fanciful conceits, and Cynewulf was undoubtedly the kind of person from whom strange fancies might be expected. But it is really too great a demand on our credulity to ask us to believe that even Cynewulf could expect his hearers to guess that 'male lamb' meant 'female sheep,' or to accept the substitution as a reasonable enigmatic device when the explanation was given them. If this be the meaning of the riddle, the only parallel I can find for it is the fabled rustic epitaph in which William Woodcock was called 'Wood*hen*' for the sake of rhyme. Such an absurdity ought not to be imputed to Cynewulf or any other man without damning proof.

I have admitted that if the word in the riddle had been 'ovis' and not 'agnus,' the proposed interpretation of ll. 1, 2 would have been plausible. Even then, however, all that could reasonably be said would be that it was *prima facie* not unlikely, and that if the remaining lines were found to admit of an equally plausible explanation in harmony with it, the suggested solution might be accepted as probable, provided that no alternative theory appeared to fit the conditions of the problem as well or better. But as the matter actually stands, the question is,

whether ll. 3—5 so unmistakably support the charade theory as to compel acceptance of an extremely improbable explanation of the former part. Let us see whether the interpretation offered for the last three lines is really convincing.

Dr Edmund Erlemann does not afford us very much help, as he merely proposes to connect the 'duo lupi' with the letters 'lf,' regarding these as the initials of words which, if one could only discover them, would, he is convinced, be found to contain the key to the riddle. He has, however, appended to his article a note in which he communicates a quite different theory of the meaning of ll. 3—5, suggested to him by Dr Joseph Gotzen. In a subsequent issue of the same periodical (Vol. CXV, p. 391), Dr Fritz Erlemann propounds yet another view. As E. Erlemann's conjecture was apparently withdrawn, we are concerned only with the theories of the two other scholars. They agree that the 'seven eyes' are seven of the eight letters of Cynewulf; that four of these letters are the 'four feet' (although they have already done duty as 'eyes'!); that two of the letters are the 'duo lupi[1]'; and that one of them is the 'tertium.' But when we ask which seven, which four, which two, and which one, we receive discordant answers to each of the four questions. The two scholars are perfectly agreed in their foregone conclusion, but they differ totally as to the process by which it is to be reached.

I should not have thought these wild fancies worth a moment's consideration, but for the fact that they have been taken seriously by scholars of deservedly high repute. One would have supposed that they could not possibly impose on any competent scholar who was not strongly prepossessed in favour of Cynewulf's authorship of the Riddles. Strange to say, however, not even Edmund Erlemann himself is of that opinion; the only inference that he draws from his supposed discovery is that Cynewulf was probably the collector or editor of the Riddles. Still more strange is it that Professor Brandl, in his excellent article on Old English Literature in the second edition of Paul's *Grundriss*, while he accepts Erlemann's solution of XC, is so far from being desirous of proving that Cynewulf wrote the Riddles, that he actually argues that the Cynewulf of this enigma may have been a different person from the poet of *Elene*, and that even supposing him to be the same person, the riddle may not be his own work but that of some admirer. It would

[1] According to F. Erlemann (who attributes the same view to E. Erlemann and Gotzen) 'duo lupi' means not 'two wolves,' but 'two letters of *wulf*'; 'lupi' is genitive singular, and 'duo' is neuter! That 'littera' is feminine is not a difficulty likely to give trouble to so courageous a speculator.

surely be a very extraordinary coincidence if there were two Cynewulfs, each of whom took delight in riddling on his own name. Perhaps some learned person will take Professor Brandl's hint, and discover that the four poems bearing the runic signature are not of common authorship, but are to be divided between the two namesakes. The other supposition, that a charade on the name of Cynewulf was the work of some admirer of the poet, is equally far-fetched. When we know that Cynewulf did in four instances play on the letters of his name, the attempt to maintain that the alleged fifth instance is by another hand looks like an evasion of the obvious probabilities. As I regard the Erlemann solution of XC as intrinsically impossible, the question of the authorship of the Riddles stands for me exactly where it did before that strange fancy was propounded.

The only real grounds for thinking it likely that Cynewulf had anything to do with the Riddles are, first, that he was certainly, from what we know of him, the kind of person to take pleasure in the writing of enigmas, and secondly, that two of his undoubted poems are contained in the Exeter Book. These reasons are not without force, and they perhaps afford a slight presumption that some of the riddles in the Exeter Book are of Cynewulf's composition. The arguments of Sievers and others, though not fully conclusive, go far to justify the provisional belief that most of them are not his; and no positive grounds of any value have yet been adduced in favour of his authorship of any particular piece in the collection. There seems to me to be some improbability in attributing to him such an illiterate performance as the Latin riddle, but this consideration might be set aside if there were the slightest positive evidence to oppose to it.

That the ninetieth riddle is not a charade on the name of Cynewulf seems to me as certain as anything can be; what the true interpretation is remains to my mind a very doubtful question. Indeed, I am strongly disposed to think it most probable that the reference is to circumstances well known to the author and his readers, but to us quite unknown and unconjecturable.

However, as negative criticism does not easily gain attention unless the critic is able to offer some positive hypothesis in place of that which he condemns, I will endeavour to show that the riddle admits at least of one explanation which takes account of every expression in the text, and which involves no assumption that is not perfectly admissible.

The word 'gloriam' in l. 3, having regard to its customary associations in Christian Latin, suggests (though it does not prove)

that the subject of the riddle is religious; that what is symbolized is something that is a cause of pious exultation to the faithful. We might at first sight think that the victorious conflict of the lamb with the wolf refers to the triumph of the Lamb of God over the devil. But it seems probable that the author did not mean anything so easily guessed as this; and it would not be easy on this supposition to explain the second incident—the two wolves afflicting a third—which is said to be equally 'glorious' with the first. The 'rupi' of Holthausen's emendation, which appears nearly certainly correct, also needs to be accounted for.

Suppose now that a writer of the eighth or ninth century wished to say enigmatically that a man bearing the unpromising name of Wulfstan (Wolf-Stone) had become a Christian—that the Lamb of God had taken from him the stony and wolfish heart which his name suggests. Having regard to the fashion of dealing with proper names exemplified by Aldhelm, Æthilwald, Cynewulf, and other writers of the period, I think he might quite naturally have expressed this meaning in the words 'The Lamb meets *Stone*, and takes the bowels of *Wolf*'; or, in the clumsy Latin of the riddle, 'Obcurrit Agnus Rupi, et capit viscera Lupi.'

The two wolves, whose success in harassing a third wolf is an occasion of devout rejoicing, may very well be two saints or champions of the faith whose names begin with 'Wulf.' It was quite in accordance with customary practice to render such names in Latin by the simple 'Lupus.' The wolf against whom they victoriously fight would of course be the devil; the comparison of the enemy of souls to a wolf may be found in many religious writers. The 'seven eyes' may mean the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit[1]; and, in spite of the grotesque bathos which the supposition involves, I do not think it at all unlikely that the 'four feet' are intended to be taken literally, as indicating that the two wolves are men and not quadrupeds.

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[1] See Zech. iv. 10, 'Septem isti oculi sunt Domini, qui discurrunt in universam terram,' and Rev. v. 6, 'Et vidi agnum...habentem...oculos septem, qui sunt septem spiritus Dei.' For the development which makes the 'seven eyes' of these passages into the believer's organs of spiritual vision I can quote no parallel of early date, but there is a curiously exact one in the following lines from a fanatical rhymester of the seventeenth century (*English Historical Review*, July 1911, p. 531):

> 'Thou shalt not read what's spoke of Dragon and Beast
> With University-art;
> But thou shalt read *with Kings seven eyes*,
> And an enlightned heart.'

THE NAME OF THE LETTER ȝ.

§ 1. The name of the letter ȝ, the Old English symbol for *g*, has not, as far as I know, been referred to more than twice. For the first time by Professor Skeat in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society* for 1897, p. 403, where he prints it as *yee* (see § 20); for the second time by Dr Henry Bradley in his chapter on 'Changes in the Language to the days of Chaucer' in the *Cambridge History of English Literature,* vol. I, p. 393 (1907). Dr Bradley writes as follows:

> And in the twelfth century, though the continental variety of the Roman alphabet was generally used for writing English, it was found convenient to retain the native form ȝ of the letter *g* for those two of its sounds that the French *g* lacked, namely, those of *gh* and *y* (as in *year*). A new letter was thus added to the alphabet, and though it came to be written ȝ, exactly like the contemporary form of *z*, it preserved its name 'yok' until the fourteenth century.

I am indebted to Dr Henry Bradley for privately informing me that he had found the name 'yok' on p. 71 of '*The Buke of John Maundeuill* being the travels of Sir John Mandeville, knight, 1322–1356,' edited by G. F. Warner for the Roxburghe Club, Westminster, 1889. Dr Bradley added that he knew of the name 'ȝe' (viz. the form referred to by Prof. Skeat), but not of any third name.

§ 2. To the above information I am able to add a considerable amount of fresh material, from which it will appear that neither of the above names can be accepted as absolutely correct.

§ 3. A reference to our letter ȝ occurs in MS. M^{c}Clean 123 (the Nuneaton Codex), in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The MS. in question is dated by M. Paul Meyer 'vers l'an 1300[1],' and Dr Montague James places it similarly 'about 1300, perhaps a little earlier[2].' This date refers to Nos. 1, 3, 6, 9, 10; the remaining parts are in a somewhat later hand. The manuscript contains various works in French and Latin;

[1] *Romania*, xxv, 180 f. (1896).
[2] I am indebted to Dr James for privately informing me of this fact.

the last few folios are, however, occupied by an English poem, the *Poema Morale*[1]. On the blank page facing the beginning of this poem the scribe of it has made the following memorandum, evidently as a guidance for himself or for possible readers who might be unacquainted with the four peculiarly English symbols which he makes use of in his transcript:

· þorn ·
· þ · þanne · þo · þider · þe · þu · haueþ ·
naueþ · teþ · goþ ·
· wen ·
· p · pimman · pepman · ponie ·
pende · pele · pope ·
· yoȝ ·
· ȝ · ȝef · ȝus · ȝer · ȝender · draȝ ·
sclaȝ · arȝ · marȝ ·
· and ·
· ⁊ · William · ⁊ · Ion · ⁊ · thomas
· ⁊ · symun · ⁊ · þu · ⁊ · ich.

MS. M^{c}Clean 123, f. 114^{b}.

§ 4. MS. Reg. 17, B. i in the British Museum contains a Concordance of the New Testament according to the later Wycliffite Version, carefully written in a hand of the early XV century. The Concordance is preceded by a few pages of introductory matter, in which the compiler explains his methods and plan of work. In discussing the alphabetical order observed in the book, he gives the following piece of information:

Sum*m*e writ*e*n · g · h · *in* sum*m*e wordis, whiche wordis ben writen of sum*m*e o*þer*e w*i*th a yogh þat is figured þus · ȝ · ; as sum man writeþ þus þese termes, 'doughter' 'thought,' where ano*þer* writiþ he*m* þus, 'douȝter' 'thouȝt.' But for as miche as þe carect yogh, þat is to seie · ȝ ·, is figurid lijk a ȝed, þ*er*fore alle þe wordis of þis table þat bigi*nn*en wiþ þat carect, ben set in ȝed, which is þe laste lettre of þe a · b · c.

MS. Reg. 17, B. i, f. 14^{b}.

§ 5. Again, acting on the information received from Dr Bradley (see § 1), I have examined the greater number of the English and French Mandeville manuscripts in order to ascertain what different forms the name of the letter ȝ adopted in these. Of the English renderings

[1] See my edition of this text in *Anglia*, N.F. XVIII, 217–237.

I have investigated thirty out of the thirty-two copies enumerated by J. Vogels in his *Handschriftliche Untersuchungen über die englische Version Mandeville's*, Crefeld, 1891. Of the French I have seen the ten MSS. existing in the British Museum and two copies preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; moreover, through the kind assistance of the keeper of the MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, I have received a transcript of the passage in question from the earliest existing copy of any Mandeville manuscript, viz. MS. Bibl. Nat. *Nouv. acq. fr.* 4515 (= Ashburnham, Barrois XXIV) dated by the scribe in the year 1371.

§ 6. Before giving the material collected from these manuscripts, it will be necessary to show roughly the probable relationship between them.

It is generally accepted that the French text is the earliest; the earliest manuscript now known being the above-mentioned in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The author is held to have written at Liège before 1371 and in French. Later versions are all derived directly or indirectly from a French original[1].

The English text has come down to us in three[2] forms:

(1) C = MS. Cotton, Titus C. XVI, written between 1410–1420 in the Midland dialect; printed for the first time 1725, reprinted by Halliwell 1839, 1866, etc.; edited with modernised spelling by A. W. Pollard, London, 1900.

(2) E = MS. Egerton 1982, written between 1410–1420 in the Northern dialect; edited by G. F. Warner (see § 1); the French text printed with it is from MS. Harl. 4383.

(3) D = the defective text represented by the remaining known MSS., none of which is earlier than the XV century; printed by Pynson (no date), by Wynkyn de Worde 1429, and by many others.

According to Vogels (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 24, 52) C is the earliest of the existing English texts, and E is a revised and much improved form of D, the editor occasionally using for his revision a copy of the original French text[3].

§ 7. The passage giving the names of the two English letters þ and ȝ occurs at the very end of the fifteenth chapter, after a paragraph dealing with the alphabet of the Saracens. It is found in the majority

[1] See Warner, *op. cit.* p. IX.

[2] Warner, *ibid.* p. X.

[3] See Vogels, p. 52, for a full statement; also Warner, *op. cit.* p. XI, who offers, however, a different explanation of the relationship between these texts. His statements are, however, unsupported by adequate proofs.

of the French and English copies of the Mandeville text, as can be seen from the following paragraphs.

§ 8. The French Text[1].

(1) MS. Brit. Mus. Harl. 4383, f. 31 (end of XIV century).

'Et cestes iiii lettres ont ils vnquore plus pur la diuersite de lour langage, pur ceo qils parlent ensi en la gorge; auxi come nous auons en nostre parleure en Engleterre deux lettres pluis qils nount en lour a b c, cest assauoir þ et ȝ, qi sont appellez thorn et ȝogh.'

(2) Brit. Mus. Harl. 204, f. 48 .....ȝogh.

(3) Brit. Mus. Harl. 212, f. 49 .....ȝogh.

(4) Brit. Mus. Reg. 20. B. x, f. 138^{b}.....iogh.

(5) Brit. Mus. Harl. 1739, f. 34^{b}.....ȝok.

(6) Brit. Mus. Add. 33757, f. 35^{b} (= Greville 39)...ȝok.

(7) Brit. Mus. Sloane 1464, f. 79 .....ȝok.

(8) Fitzwilliam Mus. Camb., MS. Fairfax Murray 9...ȝok.

The passage is omitted altogether in the following MSS. which appear to contain abbreviated texts:

(9) Brit. Mus. Harl. 3940. (10) Brit. Mus. Reg. 20. A. i. (11) Brit. Mus. Sloane 560. (12) Fitzw. Mus. Camb., MS. M^{c}Clean 177.

§ 9. The English Text.

(1) C (ed. Pollard, p. 96). 'And iiii lettres þei haue more þan oþere for dyuersitee of hire langage and speche, for als moche as þei speken in here throtes. And wee in Englond haue in oure langage and speche ii lettres mo þan þei haue in hire a·b·c; and þat is þ and ȝ whiche ben clept þorn and ȝogh.'

(2) E. (ed. Warner, p. 71)...ȝok.

In the defective MSS. the name of the letter ȝ is given as follows:

(3) Brit. Mus. Add. 33758, f. 29 .....ȝoch.

(4) Bodl. Rawl. D. 100, f. 34 .....ȝoch.

[1] The earliest extant French MS. *fr.* 4515 is disappointing in so far as it does not give the name of the letter ȝ. I give the passage in full, as it serves to disprove a pronouncement made by Warner, *op. cit.* p. xxi, that the alphabets might be interpolations, since in MS. *fr.* 4515 they were not inserted in the body of the text, but written at the end. From the following communication, due to the courtesy of the French Librarian of the Bibl. Nat., it is clear that at all events the Saracen alphabet occurred in its accustomed place (the others according to a note in the manuscript having been inadvertently omitted), and, what is of even greater interest, the passage telling what 'nous avons en nostre langaige en Engleterre' is also in its accustomed place, a fact which surely must have an important bearing on the question of the nationality of the author.—'Au fol. 44 du MS. *Nouv. acq. fr.* 4515 de notre Bibliothèque, en fin d'un chapitre, je note, après un alphabet, les mots: "Encore ont-il quatre lectres plus pour la diversité de leurs langaiges pour ce qu'il parollent si en langaige (*sic*!); aussi com nous avons en nostre langaige en Engleterre deux lectres plus qu'il n'y a en l'a·b·c, c'est assavoir ȝ et y qui sont avec ·I·Þ·N."'

(5) Bodl. Add. C. 285, f. 34 .....ȝoche.
(6) Queen's Coll. Oxf. 383.....ȝoghe.
(7) Brit. Mus. Sloane 2319, f. 16 .....ȝoghe.
(8) Brit. Mus. Reg. 17. C. xxxviii, f. 34 ...ȝouh.
(9) Brit. Mus. Arund. 140, f. 22^{b} .....yowh.
(10) Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 4. 20, f. 43^{b} ...yough.
(11) Bodl. Rawl. B. 216, f. 146 .....ȝouȝ.
(12) Camb. Univ. Dd. 1. 17, f. 42^{b} .....ȝowȝe.
(13) Magd. Coll. Camb., Pepys 1955, f. 39...ȝow.
(14) Brit. Mus. Reg. 17. B. xliii, f. 56^{b} .....ȝow.
(15) Oxf. Douce 109, f. 37, '*ȝ* · and *y* · wiche ben clepid ȝou and *þ*ouȝ.'
(16) Camb. Univ. Ff. 5. 35, f. 24^{b}...'*y* and *ȝ* *þ*e whiche beth I callid *þ*owhes.'
(17) Bodl. Douce 33, f. 68...ȝoux.
(18) Bodl. e Museo 124, f. 1^{b}...youx.
(19) Brit. Mus. Harl. 3954, f. 27^{b}...youx.
(20) Bodl. Laud 699, f. 36^{b}...ȝedde.
(21) Dublin, Trin. Coll. E. 5. 6...ȝedde.

The following MSS. give the letters *þ* and *ȝ* but omit the names:

(22) Camb. Univ. Gg. 1. 34, f. 40. (23) Bodl. Rawl. D. 101, f. 48^{b}.

The following MSS. omit the passage in question altogether:

(24) Brit. Mus. Harl. 2386. (25) Bodl. Tanner 405. (26) Bodl. Rawl. D. 99. (27) Bodl. e Museo 116. (28) Bodl. Ashmole 751. (29) Ball. Coll. Oxf. 239. (30) Edinburgh, Adv. Libr. 19. 1. 11[1].

§ 10. Our passage is also omitted in all the Latin versions of the *Travels* which I have been able to consult, viz. Brit. Mus. Egert. 518, 672, Reg. 13. E. IX, Harl. 82, 175, 3589, Add. 37512.

It is further omitted in all printed copies of the English text previous to the editions by Warner and Pollard, see § 6.

§ 11. Of the names recorded in the various manuscripts, it is clear that 'ȝedde' § 9, Nos. 20, 21, is the name of the letter *z*, which in the fifteenth century was identical in form with *ȝ*.

The other names we may group together as follows:

(*a*) *yoȝ* with later variations of spelling, see §§ 3, 4, § 8 Nos. 1–4, and § 9, Nos. 1, 3–15.

(*b*) *ȝok*, § 8, Nos. 5–8, § 9, No. 2.

[1] I am indebted to the courtesy of the Librarian, Mr G. Stronach, for this information. The following manuscripts consulted by Vogels I have been unable to see: MS. Phillipps $\frac{8255}{1088}$, and a manuscript in the Chetham Library, Manchester.

(*c*) *ȝoux, youx*, § 9, Nos. 17–19.
(*d*) *þouȝ*, § 9, No. 15.
(*e*) *þowhes*, § 9, No. 16.

§ 12. The name supported by the earliest and most reliable evidence is clearly 'yoȝ.' About the year 1300, possibly earlier, it is noted down as the name of the letter ȝ by the exceedingly careful scribe of MS. M^{c}Clean 123 (see § 3). More than a century later, it is recorded in almost identical form 'yogh' by the careful compiler of the 'Concordance' (see § 4), who goes out of his way to point it out as the name of the letter ȝ, and explains how it orthographically varied with *gh* and in form was identical with *z*. His evidence is confirmed by the great number of fifteenth century French and English Mandeville manuscripts, the majority of which retain the old and time-honoured form (though with orthographical variations), whereas a certain number show scribal varieties, pointing to ignorance on the part of the transcriber, or gradual disuse of the letter and consequent unfamiliarity with its name.

§ 13. Thus 'þowhes' § 9, No. 16, is clearly a miswriting for 'yowhes,' þ and *y* in some XV century manuscripts being almost identical in form; the *-(e)s* is the plural ending, the scribe, for some reason best known to himself, giving only one name and applying it to both the letters þ and ȝ. Similarly 'þouȝ,' § 9, No. 15, is probably an error for 'youȝ'; in this case the scribe was clearly familiar with the name of ȝ, for after having reversed the usual order of the two letters and written 'ȝ and ẏ' (for 'þ and ȝ'), he proceeds to give correctly the current name 'ȝou'; then he misreads the next word to be copied, viz. 'youȝ,' and puts it down as 'þouȝ.' He may possibly have wished to write 'þorn,' but his eye was perhaps caught half-way by the 'youȝ,' and he finished his word accordingly.

Whatever may have been in the minds of the scribes mentioned, it is quite clear that their respective originals must have contained forms such as 'yowh' and 'youȝ.'

§ 14. The forms 'ȝok' and 'ȝoux' (youx) (see §§ 8, 9) I take to be purely graphic varieties of 'yoȝ,' due to the vagaries of Norman scribes. It is noteworthy that 'ȝok' occurs in four out of the eight French manuscripts which contain the name, but only in one English text, viz. E (§ 9, No. 2), which according to both Warner and Vogels shows traces of revision with the help of a French text[1], and consequently in all likelihood adopted the *k*-form from this model.

[1] Vogels, *op. cit.* p. 52; Warner, p. xi.

Now a Norman scribe denoted the English spirant [χ] in a variety of ways (*gh, ch, hc, c, s, th, ck*, etc., see *Proverbs of Alfred*, ed. Skeat, p. xviii f., *Havelok the Dane*, ed. Skeat, p. xii). In *Havelok*, for instance, on two different occasions, the Norman scribe has written 'kayn' (ll. 31, 1327) for 'þayn'; his copy perhaps had 'tayn,' which he read as 'cayn' but wrote down as 'kayn' (see Skeat, *ibid.* p. xvii). Again the scribe of the *Proverbs* in MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. B. 14. 39 writes 'þauc' for 'þauh' (l. 238), 'rict' for 'riht' (l. 79), 'þocke' for 'þoh' (l. 311), etc. In a similar manner a Norman scribe must have substituted '*ȝoc,' 'ȝok' for an unfamiliar 'ȝoh,' 'yoȝ' of his original.

§ 15. Again the *x* in 'ȝoux,' 'youx' which occurs in three English Mandeville manuscripts (see § 9) I look upon as another device for denoting the English spirant. In this case the symbols for [χ] and [ʃ] have, however, been mixed up. It is not difficult to see how this could have taken place. In Old French *x* was not infrequently used to represent an *s*-sound short or long. In Godefroi, *Dict. de l'ancien Français*, *Alsi* 'aussi' has the following variants: 'aci,' 'asi,' 'ausi,' 'auxi,' 'ossi,' 'ouchi' and nine others; *assembler* is also written 'ascenbler,' 'assembloison' appears as 'asenblexon,' 'aixsin' as 'aschin,' etc. To a French scribe the symbols *s, sc, ss, sch, x, ch, c*, etc. were consequently to a certain extent equivalents. In attempting to render the English [ʃ] sound he might be liable to use any of the above symbols, since he probably at first pronounced [s]; in rendering the English [χ, ç] there are instances of his using *s, c, h, ch, gh, th, d* or of his leaving it out altogether[1]. The symbols *s, c, ch* are in common to both, and might be used for either spirant. It would therefore be a perfectly natural thing for a scribe who sometimes wrote *x* for the English [ʃ] sound to substitute this *x* for a [χ] sound in words of which the sound-value was unfamiliar to him, and which contained one or other of the above-mentioned symbols (*s, c, ch*). Thus a form 'youc,' 'youch' might easily be written down 'youx.' In Harl. 3954, which has the form 'youx' (see § 9, No. 19), we also find f. 28 'þat salme xuld be seyd,' and f. 42 'xuldrys' by the side of 'schuldrys[2],' etc., which would seem to show that such confusion of symbols actually did take place.

§ 16. Having shown that the forms 'ȝok,' 'ȝoux,' 'þouh,' 'þowhes'

[1] For examples of these spellings, see Skeat, in Introduction to *Havelok*, 1902, and *Proverbs of Alfred*, 1907, further *Notes on English Etymology*, Oxford 1891, p. 358.

[2] The symbol *x* for the English [ʃ] sound is not frequent. I have found it in *Songs and Carols I*, i, ed. Wright, e.g. 'xalt,' and in MS. Hunterian Mus. Glasgow 1, 3. 16, f. 36ᵇ 'xal,' etc.

are nothing but scribal variations or actual mis-writings of the word 'yoȝ' found in the XIII century M^{c}Clean MS., I will now attempt to give some account of this word itself.

Since the letter ȝ is the Middle English representative of the characteristic Old English form of *g*, it would seem a natural conclusion to draw that the ME *name* 'yoȝ' should be a continuation of the OE name of the letter in question. As a matter of fact, the only extant OE word to which our form 'yoȝ' can be traced back, is actually the name of a letter, viz. the West Saxon 'ēoh,' which is given in the Runic Song as the name of the thirteenth rune ᛇ[1]. This word would through shifting of accent and subsequent changes (ē·oh > eō·h > i̯ōh) regularly appear in early ME texts as 'yoȝ'[2] [jǭχ]. In the XV century manuscripts we should expect 'yough' [jūχ], at all events in copies written south of the Humber, and this form with *ou* appears in five of the Mandeville MSS. (§ 9, Nos. 8–12; cf. also Nos. 15–19); the fact that in seven of the English XV century copies *o* still appears (§ 9, Nos. 1, 3–7; § 4), is no doubt due to scribal tradition, which also accounts for the persistent *o* in the copies of the French text (§ 8, cf. § 9, No. 2). The forms 'ȝow,' 'ȝou' [jū] of § 9, Nos. 13–15 are no doubt due to the oblique cases of the word, where -ǭȝ- > -ǭw- > ūw (>ū)[3].

§ 17. The next question is, 'How came this runic name 'ēoh' to be applied to the letter *g* of the Roman alphabet?' The primary, probably the sole reason was *similarity of form.*

It is a well-known fact that the Anglo-Saxons learnt the Roman alphabet from their Irish missionaries[4]. The Irish handwriting was based on the Roman half-uncial, and had certain characteristic letters differently formed from those of the corresponding continental hands, viz. *f, g, s, r*. In some of the earliest records of the Irish hand which have come down to us, the *g* has practically assumed the shape of a zed turned the wrong way, viz. ⊱, with a faint upstroke going from the left point of the lower horizontal line towards the middle of the slanting medial line. This peculiarly shaped *g* is used throughout the famous Ante-hieronymian version of the Gospels known as Codex Usserianus[5]. It is found in the early VI century Latin inscription on

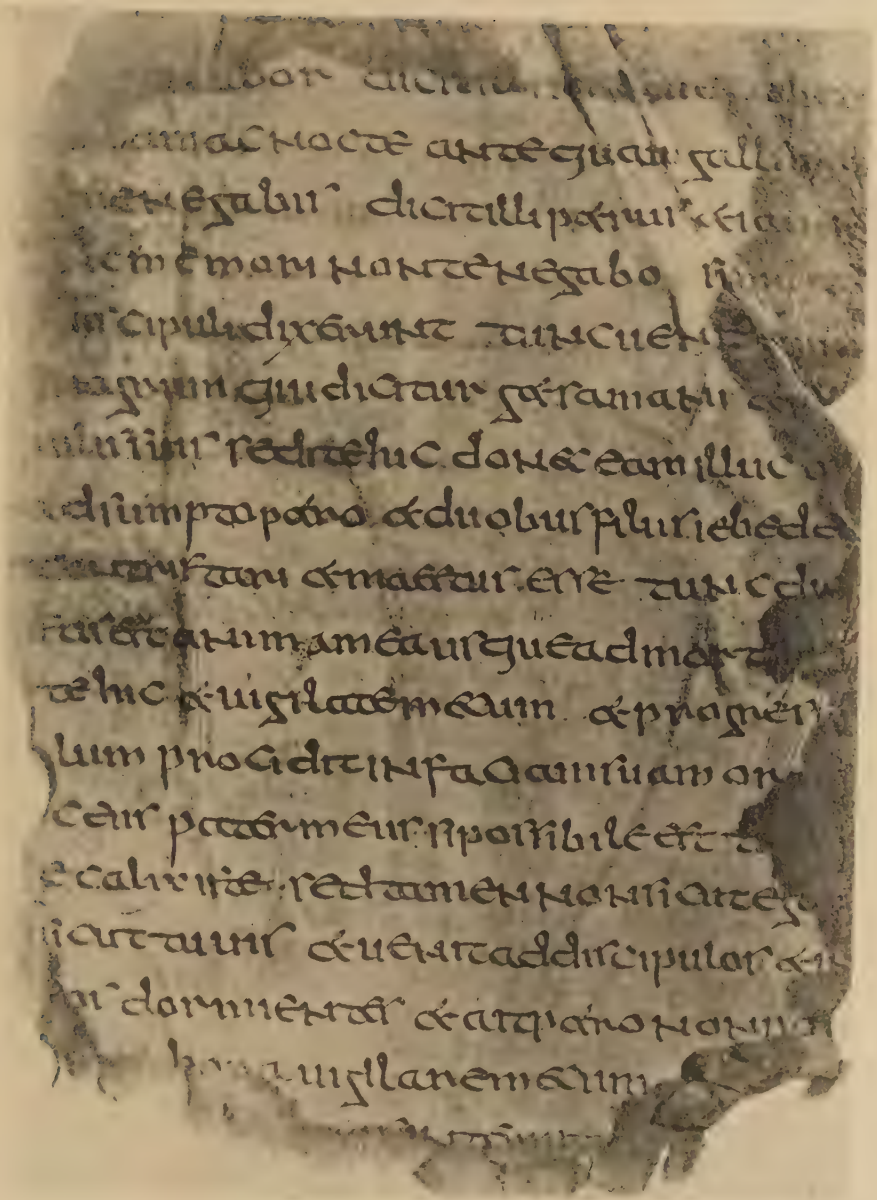
[1] Cf. Grein-Wülker, *Bibl.*[2] I, 333.

[2] The XIII century scribe of MS. M^{c}Clean 123 writes -oȝ for OE. [-ǭχ] e.g. Poema Morale, l. 224 'inoȝ.'

[3] For OE. -ōȝ, -ōȝ- see Luick, *Anglia*, XVI, 453, *Untersuchungen*, p. 63, *Archiv*, 103. 72 f., but especially Ekwall, *Jones's Pract. Phonol.* p. clxxiv.

[4] Cf. E. M. Thompson, *Greek and Latin Palæography*, London, 1893, p. 244 ff.

[5] See facsimile below, and also facsimile in T. K. Abbott's edition 'Evangeliorum Versio Antehieronymiana ex codice Usseriano,' Dublin (Trin. Coll. A. 4. 15).



Codex Usserianus.

Caldey stone, Caldey Island, near Tenby, of which Professor Burkitt has kindly furnished me with a photograph from a rubbing taken by himself in 1903[1].

In another of the earliest records of Irish handwriting, a fragmentary version of the Psalter in Trinity College, Dublin[2], written possibly during the latter part of the VI century, the *g* is slightly more rounded in form, similar to an *s* with the upper part flattened, viz. ⊆. This type is fairly common in the earlier MSS. (see the plates of the *Book of Durrow*, the *Book of Kells*, the *Book of Dimma*[3], etc.).

Now whether this variety of the letter *g* in the early Irish alphabets appeared in its angular or in its more rounded form, there was sufficient resemblance between either form and the thirteenth rune (ᛇ, ᛉ)[4] to warrant the application of its name *ēoh*, *īh*[5] to the letter in question, especially as there could have been no temptation on the score of similarity of shape to make use of the names of the *g*-runes 'ȝifu' (ᚷ) or 'ȝār' (ᛄ).

§ 18. It is true that the thirteenth rune is of rare occurrence in early Germanic runic inscriptions, and that its sound value is doubtful. But, though little used, it seems with certain exceptions to have retained its accustomed place in the 'fuþarks' from the earliest times onward. That the rune and its name were not unknown in England is testified by a number of OE. runic alphabets, mostly in manuscripts dating from the IX to the XI centuries, and by a few inscriptions, viz.[6]

(1) The Thames Knife, Ags. fuþark without names[7].
(2) Runic Song, Ags. fuþark, ᛉ, value *eo*, name *eoh*.
(3) MS. Cotton, Dom. A. 9, Ags. fuþark, value *eo*.
(4) MS. Cotton, Otho B. 10, Ags. alphabet, value *eo*.
(5) MS. Cotton, Dom. A. 9, Ags. alphabet, value *eo*.
(6) MS. Copenhagen, Ags. fuþark, value *eo*.
(7) MS. St John's College, Oxf., C. 27, Ags. alphabet, value *h*.

[1] Cf. F. C. Burkitt, *Proc. of the Camb. Phil. Soc.* 1904. Rhŷs, *Archæol. Camb.*, 5th ser., vol. XIII, pp. 98—102. I regret to say that the photograph was found to be too faint for reproduction.

[2] Gilbert, J. T., *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland* (Ordnance Survey), I, plates III, IV; cf. *Palæogr. Soc.* II, plates 136, 137, 138, 161, 162, etc.

[3] *National Manuscripts*, I, plates V, VIII, XVIII.

[4] See Sievers's Runentafel in Paul's *Grundr.* I.

[5] That the W. Sax. form 'ēoh' was handed down in preference to the Anglian 'īh' seems natural in view of the importance of the W. Saxon *scriptoria* and W. Saxon scribal traditions during Alfredian and post-Alfredian times.

[6] Cf. Bugge, S., *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer I.*, Christiania, 1891–1903. Excurs A. *Runen ᚴ eller ᛇ* (pp. 117–148).

[7] Cf. Wimmer, *Runenschrift*, p. 82 f.

(8) Vienna, Cod. Salisb. 71 (890–910), Ags. fuþark, value *i* and *h*, name *ih*.

(9) MS. St Gallen 270, Ags. runes, value *k*, name *ih*[1].

(10) MS. Isidor, Brüssel 155, Ags. fuþark, value *ih*, name *hic*[1].

(11) MS. Cotton, Galba A. 2, Ags. fuþark, name *eth* (for **ech*, **eoh*).

Of the inscriptions, only the following seem to offer certain readings:

(12) Ruthwell Cross, 'almeʃttig.'

(13) Runic stone, Dover, Kent, 'G⅂slheard.'

(14) Runic stone, Thornhill, 'eateʃnne.'

From the above it would appear as if the thirteenth rune was well remembered both as to name and form, when standing in its accustomed place in the 'fuþark,' but that its sound-value[2] was so uncertain that in the very few inscriptions which have come down to us, it represents not less than three different sounds, viz. [χ], *i* and ȝ (?).

§ 19. In conclusion, at a time when the Anglo-Saxon converts were learning their Roman alphabets from their Irish teachers, and when the knowledge of the runes was still a living fact amongst them, it would not seem too bold a conjecture to make, if one assumes that they associated the new with the old, and applied to a letter which seemed to them familiar in shape, the name of the rune which it resembled. This was all the more easy, since the rune in question was so to say 'unattached,' without a definite sound value, or at all events with a sound value which did not altogether militate against its name being applied to the Roman letter.

§ 20. Apart from the form *yoȝ* etc., discussed in the preceding paragraphs, a third reference to the name of the letter ȝ occurs in a manuscript of the XIII century, B. 14. 39 in Trinity College, Cambridge. The Norman scribe of the *Proverbs of Alfred* which begin on fol. 85 has written down at the bottom of the first page the following note:

iẏe	w	ant	íẏorn[3]	
ȝ	ƿ	⅂	þ	

The note is small and cramped, the letters do not stand under their respective names, and it looks as if the scribe had first scribbled down the four symbols and then added the names as an afterthought.

[1] German scribe.

[2] The sound-values ascribed to the rune in the 'fuþarks' are clearly taken from the names; see on this point Bugge, *op. cit.*

[3] Not *iþorn* as read by Professor Skeat; the ẏ is unmistakable, and it has the customary dot which would never be placed above a þ. Cf. on the note and on the orthography of the MS. 'The troubles of a Norman scribe' by W. W. Greg, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* v, 282–285 (1910), which article was written subsequently to mine, though published earlier.

This note was first observed by Mr Aldis Wright and pointed out by him to Professor Skeat, who in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, Cambridge, 1897, p. 403, offered the following explanation:

> The meaning of this interesting note is most significant. The scribe had a piece of English to write out; and before he had to learn four new characters. The first was ȝ, which was named 'yee' (pronounced as Modern English 'yea'); but being a Norman he was unable to sound the initial *y* without prefixing the very slight vowel-sound *i*. In trying to say 'yea,' he said '*i*-yea'; and dared to write it down so. For a precisely similar reason he found it easier to say 'ithorn' than 'thorn' and he actually so wrote it. As for the A.S. *w*, represented by the old 'wen,' he naturally explained it by a French *w*; and lastly in explaining the usual contraction for 'and' he gave to this rather common English word a French pronunciation and called it 'ant.'

The note on the letters with a summary of the above discussion was reprinted by Professor Skeat on p. xiv of his re-edition of the *Proverbs of Alfred*, Oxford, 1907, from the above-mentioned Trinity College MS. B. 14. 39 and two others.

Professor Skeat's explanation seems to me, however, to suffer from the following defects: firstly it leaves the name of ȝ, viz. 'iye' (not 'yee') unexplained; secondly it leaves the *i* which has been prefixed to the 'ye' and 'þorn' (MS. 'ẏorn') unexplained, since one can hardly accept as an explanation Professor Skeat's statement, unsupported by phonetic evidence or corroborating examples of any kind, that the scribe 'being a Norman...was unable to sound the initial *y* without prefixing the very slight vowel-sound *i*.... For a precisely similar reason he found it easier to say "ithorn" than "thorn."'

To take the last point first, had the scribe been 'unable to sound' the initial *y* and þ without prefixing the vowel-sound *i*, we ought surely to find him similarly unable to sound the same initial letters wherever they occurred in the text of the poem. But no such thing happens! In Professor Skeat's text there is not a single instance of the initial combination 'iy-' or 'iþ-,' though there are plenty of words beginning with *y* and þ, which might have given the scribe a chance of showing his averred inability. Nor have I in spite of diligent search been able to find any second example of this alleged Norman way of denoting the initial spirants *y*- and þ-[1].

Again, had the scribe, as Professor Skeat assumes, attempted 'to sound' our two spirants and adopted the expedient of prefixing an *i* to facilitate matters, he would at all events have written 'itorn,' 'idorn,' 'ithorn,' 'iþorn,' or some sound resembling the dental spirant in

[1] Professor Skeat's own canon as to the Norman way of denoting *y* and þ can be studied in his *Notes on Engl. Etym.*, p. 472, Oxford, 1901, repeated in his edition of *Havelok*, Oxford, 1902, pp. x ff.

question, not 'iẏorn' as actually occurs in the MS. The dotted *ẏ*, as already said, is unmistakable—though not noticed by Professor Skeat—and moreover, being a letter wherewith the Norman scribe was familiar, he would scarcely have used it in order phonetically to represent the þ-sound of the word in question, had he tried to put it down as he attempted to say it.

This miswriting would rather point to the fact that the scribe copied what he *saw*—the *ẏ* and þ being similar to the eye—but not what he heard or tried to sound, since to the ear the two sounds are easily kept apart.

In fact, so great was the uncertainty of the scribe as to the value of the symbol þ, that in the text of the *Proverbs* he actually uses it for ȝ and vice-versa[1], e.g. *þif* for *ȝif* 65, 398 etc., *wraȝed* for *wraþed*, 276. He also, according to Professor Skeat, writes þ for the Ags. ƿ (w) e.g. ll. 182, 623, which, however, may be due to the fact of their being very similar in form, and consequently difficult to distinguish in his original.

§ 21. I take it therefore that the Norman scribe, before starting to copy out his text from the comparatively unfamiliar English original, dotted down in the margin the four symbols which he knew would give him most trouble, viz. ȝ, ƿ, ⁊, þ, probably from some such memorandum as we find preceding the *Poema Morale* (see § 3). The memorandum I conjecture had the following form:

ȝ ·í· ye.
ƿ ·í· w[en].
⁊ ·í· and,
þ ·í· þorn.

Here ·í· is the usual abbreviation for the Latin *id est*; cf. in the same MS. B. 14. 39 f. 145 b. '*sur* eod, m° ·í· *supra above*.' The scribe as can be seen from the text of the *Proverbs* is by no means brilliant, he is both careless and ignorant; hence, when adding the names over the symbols he had scribbled at the bottom of the page, he wrote *iye* and 'iẏorn' (for 'iþorn') believing the *i* to be part of these unfamiliar words, but *w* and 'ant' he managed to put down fairly correctly since they must have been a little better known to him.

This seems to me a far more likely explanation of the presence of the *i* in the forms 'iye,' 'iẏorn' than the one offered by Professor Skeat.

§ 22. This form 'ye' of the Trinity MS. I look upon as exceedingly slender evidence for the real name of ȝ. It is true that the MS. is early, possibly a little earlier than MS. M^{c}Clean 123 (§ 3), but the

[1] Cf. Skeat, *ibid.* p. xvi, § 9. 3.

scribe is execrable, 'doubtful as to the correct use both of sounds and symbols' (Skeat, p. xv), and obviously no dependence can be placed upon his forms. I believe myself that the 'ye' of the note is a mere misreading or miswriting for 'yo.' According to Skeat, Introd. p. xxi, 'the common blunder of confusing *e* and *o* is not absent' from the text of the *Proverbs*; cf. 'þe' for 'þo' 548, 'se' for 'so' 143, 'knewen' for 'knowen' 358; conversely 'no' for 'ne' 169, 'boþ' for 'beþ' 407, etc.

One may even go so far as to assume that the scribe's original might have had 'yoȝ' or 'yo(c)h,' since he is not above omitting the symbol for the English [χ, ç] in a number of instances, as 'knit' 78, 'nout' 128, 196, 201, 669, 706, 'nowit' 284, 'brit' 306, 'douter' 550, 'þau' for 'þauh' 653, etc.

§ 23. If the scribe of the Trinity MS. had been as intelligent and careful as his colleagues of MS. M^{c}Clean (§ 3) and MS. Brit. Mus. Reg. 17. B. i (§ 4), it would have been incumbent upon one to attempt an explanation of 'ye,' say, as a possible contamination from 'yē(ȝ)': 'yōȝ' (OE. 'ēoh': 'eōh'), cf. 'ȝhe': 'ȝho,' 'ȝede': 'ȝode,' etc., or, as having been due to the influence of the OF. name 'ge' of the continental letter *g*[1]. But no argument can be based on a single form occurring in a manuscript full of corrupt readings, so it had better be left severely alone.

§ 24. *Summary.* The name of the letter ȝ occurs in three independent sources: (1) MS. M^{c}Clean 123 of the XIII century 'yoȝ' (§ 4); (2) MS. Brit. Mus. Reg. 17. B. i of the early XV, 'yogh' (§ 4); (3) in the fifteenth century Mandeville MSS. as 'yough,' 'ȝogh,' etc., §§ 8, 9. It can therefore be concluded with perfect certainty that the ME. name of the letter ȝ was 'yoȝ,' 'yough,' and that this name was still current in the XV century. The form 'ȝok' quoted by Dr Bradley (§ 1) is a scribal variation of 'yoȝ' (§ 14). The ME. 'yoȝ' can in all likelihood be traced back to an OE. 'eōh,' the West Saxon form of the name for the thirteenth rune (§ 16). This name, W. Saxon 'ēoh' (Angl. *īh*), is conjectured to have been given to the Hiberno-Saxon form of the letter *g*, owing to the striking similarity in form between the thirteenth rune and certain early forms of the Irish ȝ (§§ 17–19).

Owing to the unsatisfactory character of the scribe of MS. Trin. Coll. B. 14. 39, no conclusions can be drawn as to the name of the letter ȝ from the form 'iye' appearing in that MS. (§§ 1, 20–23).

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[1] Cf. Sheldon, E. S., 'Origin of the English names of the Letters.' *Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.*, Boston, 1892, I, 66–87, II, 155–171.

A NEW 'HAVELOK' MS.

Among the treasures of the Cambridge University Library have been preserved four small and insignificant-looking scraps of paper containing writing which appears to belong to the end of the fourteenth century. They are contained in an envelope marked 4407 (19).

One of the scraps was perceived to contain a small portion of the 'Proverbs of Hending.' The meaning of the rest was less obvious, and I was asked to endeavour to discover it. I soon saw that some of the lines certainly belonged to *Havelok the Dane*, but varied a good deal in places from the only known complete copy, viz. that in MS. Laud Misc. 108 in the Bodleian Library, edited by me for the Clarendon Press in 1902, and (previously) for the Early English Text Society.

I have recommended that the eight fragments (recto and verso of four scraps) should be marked *a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h.* I now proceed at once to give the fragments of 'Havelok,' reserving a discussion of the other fragments for another occasion. Fragment *d* contains Havelok, ll. 174—183 (partly illegible); *e* contains ll. 341—364; and *f* contains ll. 537—544, ten lines not in the other copy, and ll. 545—6, another new line, and ll. 547—9. I now give the whole of this text. The new lines are marked with asterisks.

(*d*) Til sche be womman of elde,
þat sche it may here selwe welde.
[h]e[1] answerde and seyd anon,
be Iesu crist and sen Ion,
þat erl godric of cornwalie (*sic*)
[was][2] trewe man, wytouten faile[3],
wis man of red, and of dede,
...man me haued michel dred;
and he may here best ȝeme,

[1] Space left for a large H.
[2] *Illegible.*
[3] *Written* fale, *with* i *above, between* f *and* a.

...of (?)...ymket[1] [quene].
(*e*) A riche king, strong and starc.
His name, it was birkebein,
He hauede mani knigth and swen;
He was fayr man and wyth,
And [of][2] is body þe beste knigth
Þat eu*e*re mith neue*n*e[3] to we[rre],
Riden on stede, or handlen[4] spere.
Þre childre he hauede b[y his w]if,
Þat he louede as is [lif]
He hadde...[*lost*]
Swiþe fayre, and [fel it] so.
Þan he was....
Iuel him toke....
Þat he was so wyth euel bunde,
Þat he ne[5] mith liuen non stunde.
Þan he mith no longere liuen
For siluir þat he mithe giuen.
Þan he þat wiste, he dede senden
Aft*e*r prestis fer and henden,
Aft*e*r chanones[6], munkes boþen,
Hym to wissen and to roþen,
Hym to husselen and to shriue
Quiles þat he were oliue.
Quan he was husseled & wel schriuen[7],
(*f*) Grim toke þe cheld, and bond wel faste,
[Þe] whiles þe bondes mith laste,
Þat was a foul strong line;
Þanne was haueloc in mekel pine.
Wiste he neu*e*re er of wo;
But Iesu crist, þat made to go
Þe alte, & þe dumme for to speke,
Haueloc þout of godard wreke,
*And þat he do him al quic flo[8]
*Wyt schame and pine and mekel wo.

[1] *Sic; error for* ym[a]ket; quene *is not legible.*
[2] of *is omitted.*
[3] *Obscure; written* neuēe.
[4] *Only* en *quite plain; but it is really* handlen.
[5] ne *above the line.*
[6] *Written* channs, *with* o *above the former* n, *and* e *above the latter.*
[7] *Partly cut away, but* schriuen *exactly fits.*
[8] *Compare* l. 2476.

*For he[1] it seruede[2] on fele manere,
*As ye schuln forwar here[3].
*He was tratur in mani akas[4],
*And he it aboute[5] þat he swilc was.
*He broute þe child in mechel sorwen,
*Yet wurth is soule neuere borwen.
*He bad grim don is comaundeme[n]t,
*And þerfore was ate þe laste schent.
For þanne grim hadde him faste bounde,
And sithen in an old cloþe wnden,
*He þriste in his muth wel faste
A corner of an old cloþe, ful hun-wraste,
þat he ne mith speken ne greden,
Quider so he wolde hym leden.

Next follow traces of a line, nearly all cut away; but I think it represents:—For godard hadde comaund him so. The words 'him so' are plain, and the top of 'hadde comaund' can be seen.

A few remarks may be permitted. The copy is a late and corrupt one, but has some points of contact with an earlier text than is preserved in the Bodleian copy. Thus, in l. 177, 'Iesu' is retained, and in l. 548 'ne' is rightly repeated. In l. 364, the line is complete. In l. 540, 'mekel' is better than the repetition of 'ful strong' (which should be 'ful strong-e') from l. 539. Note the variations in ll. 352—357. The aspiration expressed in l. 544 of the Oxford MS. seems to have been adopted to hide a loss of ten lines that should have been preserved. But the chief gain is in ll. 547–8, where the Bodleian text has clearly gone wrong, having lost a line that is required for the sense. Read as follows:

He thristë in his muth wel faste
A keuel of clutes, ful un-wraste,
That he ne mouhte speke ne *grede*.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

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[1] he *written above the line.*
[2] *Compare* l. 1914.
[3] *Compare* l. 731.
[4] *For* a kas (a case).
[5] *For* aboughte.

'GENTLENESS AND NOBILITY'; THE AUTHORSHIP AND SOURCE.

THE play *Of Gentylnes and Nobylyte,* further described as 'A dyaloge betwen the Marchau(n)t the Knyght and the plowman dysputyng who is a verey Gentylman,' is known from an undated edition printed by John Rastell, who at the end of the piece adds the words, 'Johēs rastell me fieri fecit,' together with the announcement of authority usual to both the Rastells, 'Cum priuilegio regali.'

Since the publication of Warton's *History of English Poetry* (1774–1781), the play has been conjecturally attributed both to Rastell and to John Heywood[1], but neither ascription appears as yet to have been very seriously examined or defended. In the absence of external evidence, and in the prevailing uncertainty concerning dramatic activity during the first half of the sixteenth century, an absolutely final decision concerning the origin of the work can hardly perhaps be hoped. It seems possible, however, to show that the suggestion of Rastell's authorship has nothing to support it; and I have noted a close connection between the play and Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale,* which seems to bear out other indications in identifying it with the accepted work of Heywood.

The conclusion in regard to the nature of Rastell's concern with *Gentleness and Nobility* depends solely upon the explanation given to the words of the colophon. These words, 'Johēs rastell me fieri fecit,' appear to me capable of only two translations, either of which amounts very nearly to a virtual disclaimer of Rastell's authorship. The more probable interpretation would be to take the phrase as the precise equivalent of that which appears at the close of *Calisto and Melibea,* 'Johēs rastell me *imprimi* fecit,' 'John Rastell caused me to be printed';

[1] As Collier has pointed out, Warton ascribed this play in one place to Rastell, in another place, with equal positiveness, to Heywood. In neither instance are any arguments given. Cf. *Warton,* ed. 1840, Vol. II, p. 513, note, and Vol. III, p. 86.

i.e., acted simply as publisher. If, however, one feels that any significance attaches to the difference between the more specific verb used in the case of *Calisto and Melibea* and the more general 'fieri' of our play, the only alternative translation grammatically allowable is 'caused me to be composed'; i.e., suggested or occasioned the writing of the piece by some unmentioned poet, as, for instance, Caxton is said to have inspired some of the work of other writers which issued from his press.

Had Rastell wished to indicate himself as author of *Gentleness and Nobility*, he might doubtless have simplified the phrase which he actually employed, and announced, 'J. R. me *fecit*.' A more conventional and less ambiguous wording would have been to add, after the 'Amen' with which the body of the piece closes, the simple phrase, 'quod J. Rastell.' Thus Heywood signs *Witty and Witless* 'Amen qd John Heywod,' and the contemporary *Lusty Juventus* ends, 'Amen, quod R. Wever.' The only play which John Rastell can reasonably be supposed to have written is *The Interlude of the Four Elements*, ascribed to him on the authority of John Bale. As the latter work is extant only in a copy lacking the final leaves, it is impossible to say how Rastell signed it, if he did so at all. It is certain, however, that the *Four Elements* manifests in form and spirit a conception of dramatic art strikingly at variance with that which appears in the dialogue before us.

John Heywood's close family and business relations with the elder Rastell make it antecedently far from improbable that he should be the author of an interlude, otherwise unclaimed, which came from the press of the latter. And it seems to me that the internal evidence in favour of Heywood's authorship of *Gentleness and Nobility* is very much stronger than any critic has yet suggested.

The superficial resemblance between *Gentleness and Nobility* and Heywood's signed dialogue of *Witty and Witless*, sometimes called *Wit and Folly*, has been very generally recognized, and the two works are most frequently discussed together. Each presents a debate concerning an academic question, carried on by three interlocutors, and expressed in identical metrical form (riming couplets, with a kind of epilogue or conclusion in rime royal). But *Gentleness and Nobility* is considerably the more elaborate piece, and shows a much higher degree of dramatic skill. The careful art with which the characters of our play are brought on and off the stage; the conspicuous ability to develop a serious, ordered argument by means of lively dialogue in which each actor has his fair part; most of all, probably, the motivation of the whole

drama by the action and reaction upon one another of contrasted class types representing social rather than moral or scholastic differences: these were no common features of the drama of Henry VIII's reign. They are, indeed, the chief characteristics which give to the work of John Heywood its recognized unique quality, and are most conspicuous in his plays of *The Weather* and *The Four PP.*

One other peculiarity in dramatic method, commonly regarded as an innovation of Heywood's original genius and not known in the work of any of his contemporaries, appears in *Gentleness and Nobility.* It is the practice of replacing the conventional plot material of the moralities by scenes and speeches borrowed from the *Canterbury Tales.* The indebtedness of our play to a certain part of Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale,* though not previously pointed out, so far as I can discover, seems to me quite as close as that of *The Pardoner and the Friar* and *The Four PP* to other Chaucerian passages.

I believe that the first suggestion for the whole plot of *Gentleness and Nobility* comes from the old woman's discussion of gentleness of birth in Chaucer's tale, though it is, of course, not at all impossible that Heywood may have been further assisted in this play, as in *The Pardoner and the Friar,* by some unknown French or English work in dramatic form. I quote in parallel columns the lines in which the verbal resemblance between Chaucer and Heywood appears most striking:

Gentleness and Nobility.	*Wife of Bath's Tale.*
Part II. Farmer's Facsimile.	Student's Chaucer, ed. Skeat.
Secunda pars, ll. 8—13.	Ll. 1109—1112.
For thy folysh and pyuysh oppynyon Was because of the grete domynyon Of the landis and rentis wher to thou wast bore Whych thyn auncestours had long tyme before Thou thynkyst thy self a gentylman to be Ant that is a folysh reason semyth ne (i.e., me).	But for ye speken of swich gentillesse As is descended out of old richesse, That therefore sholden ye be gentil men, Swich arrogance is nat worth an hen.
Lines 21—24.	Lines 1113—1116.
Then to speke by reason grete possessions Make no gentylmen but gentyl condycyons That is the cause and best reason why One shuld be callyd a gentylman truly.	Loke who that is most vertuous alway, Privee and apert, and most entendeth ay To do the gentil dedes that he can, And tak him for the grettest gentil man.

Lines 26—34.

If a manis auncestours haue be gentylmen
And verteous and good to common well
That ought to be reputyd neuer adell
To the prayse of the chylde whych doth refuse
Such good cõdycyons & the cõtrary vse
But he ought to be dyspraysyd the more
Because hys auncestours hath shewid hym before
A precedent of gentylnes & vertew
Whych good example he dothe not insew.

Lines 61—70.

So I sey vertew & good cõdycyons than
Is that whych makyth the very gentylman
And though the fadyr may bequeth to hys son
Hys ryches hys land & hys possessyon
Yet may he nothyr gyf nor bequeth
Unto hym in no wyse after hys deth
Hys vertew nor hys gentyl cõdycyons
They can not descend as other possessyons
And yf thou wylt be a gentylman nedys
Thou must than vse vertew & gentyll dedys.

Lines 1152—1158.

And he that wol han prys of his gentrye
For he was boren of a gentil hous,
And had his eldres noble and vertuous,
And nil him-selven do no gentil dedis,
Ne folwe his gentil auncestre that deed is,
He nis nat gentil, be he duk or erl;
For vileyns sinful dedes make a cherl.

Lines 1117—1123.

Crist wol, we clayme of him our gentillesse,
Nat of our eldres for hir old richesse.
For thogh they yeve us al hir heritage,
For which we clayme to been of heigh parage,
Yet may they nat biquethe, for nothing,
To noon of us hir vertuous living,
That made hem gentil men y-called be.

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ON THE ITALIAN AND FRENCH SOURCES OF DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN.

In the present paper I propose to deal with the sources of various poems of Drummond which have not yet been noticed in the different articles contributed by me on the subject in this Review and elsewhere.

Of the Italian poets Drummond's two favourites were undoubtedly Marino and Torquato Tasso. The debt of Drummond to Marino has already been amply demonstrated by Ward in his edition of the *Poems*; and additional examples of his dependence on the same author have been instanced by me in a recent article[1]. On the other hand the extent of Drummond's predilection for Tasso is more considerable than has hitherto been believed. There is evidence that the Laird of Hawthornden was familiar with practically all the works of Tasso, whom in one of his poems (Ward II, 197) he apostrophises as 'Rome's greatest wonder, great Torquato Tasso.' In the catalogue of the books which he presented to the University of Edinburgh in 1627 figure *Il Rinaldo* and *La Gerusalemme liberata*; and in the lists of books read by him which he was wont to draw up we come across *l'Aminta* (read in the original and also in a French translation), the four parts of the *Rime* and the *Jerusalem* in English. Lastly he registers in the 'Table of my Italian Books, anno 1622,' *Le sette giornate del mondo creato*, the *Rime*, the tragedy *Il re Torrismondo*, and *La Gerusalemme conquistata*. This appears sufficient proof that Drummond was an assiduous student of Tasso's varied literary output. However that may be, he seems to have borrowed very little, if anything, outside the *Rime*. To the *Rime* the Scottish poet owes the piece, in a series of eight stanzas in *ottava rima*, entitled 'Thirsis in Dispraise of Beauty' (Ward I, 178), which comes dangerously near being a literal translation from beginning to end.

[1] 'The Italian and Spanish Sources of William Drummond of Hawthornden' (1911), in the *Miscellanea di studi critici e ricerche in onore di V. Crescini*.

The two compositions open as follows:

That which so much the doating world doth prize,
Fond ladies' only care and sole delight,
Soon-fading beauty, which of hues doth rise,
Is but an abject let of nature's might:
Most woful wretch, whom shining hair and eyes
Lead to love's dungeon, traitor'd by a sight
Most woful; for he might with greater ease
Hell's portals enter, and pale death appease.

Questa, che tanta il cieco volgo apprezza,
Sol piacer delle donne, e sola cura,
Caduca, e fragilissima bellezza,
Un vil impedimento è di natura.
Misero amante, cui folle vaghezza
Dà in preda ad un' angelica figura,
Misero, ch' assai meglio entro alle porte
Dell' Inferno placar potria la morte!

As in delicious meads beneath the flowers,
And the most wholesome herbs that May can show,
In crystal curls the speckled serpent lowers;
As in the apple, which most fair doth grow,
The rotten worm is clos'd, which it devours;
As in gilt cups, with Gnossian wine which flow,
Oft poison pompously doth hide its sours:
So lewdness, falsehood, mischief them advance,
Clad with the pleasant rays of beauty's glance.

Come in bel prato tra' fioretti e l' erba
Giace sovente angue maligno ascoso;
Come in bel vaso d' ór vivanda acerba
Si cela, od empio succo, e velenoso:
Come in bel pomo spesso anco si serba
Putrido verme, ond' egli è infetto, e roso;
Cosi voglie, e pensier malvagi, ed opre,
Sotto vel di bellezza altri ricopre.

The last stanza in each poem runs thus:

I shall not fear, thus though she stray alone,
That others her pursue, entice, admire;
And though she sometime counterfeit a groan,
I shall not think her heart feels uncouth fire,
I shall not style her ruthless to my moan,
Nor proud, disdainful, wayward to desire:
Her thoughts with mine will hold an equal line,
I shall be hers, and she shall all be mine.

Non temerò ch' ella sia da altri amata,
Ch' altri la segua, o pur ch' altri la miri:
Non temerò s' ella alcun altro guata,
O se mesta talor par che sospiri:
Non chiamerolla ognor superba, ingrata,
E perversa, e ritrosa a' miei desiri:
Saranno i suoi pensier conformi a' miei:
Sarà mia tutta, ed io tutto di lei.

These *stanze* of Tasso (entitled 'Sopra la bellezza'), which may properly be described as belonging to the serio-comic *genre*, are

interesting because they probably supplied Donne with the matter for his second Elegy, 'Marry and love thy Flavia[1].'

From Tasso's *Rime* Drummond likewise took the octet of Sonnet XII of the *Second Part* of his *Poems* (Ward I, 121):

As, in a dusky and tempestuous night,
A star is wont to spread her locks of gold,
And while her pleasant rays abroad are roll'd,
Some spiteful cloud doth rob us of her sight;
Fair soul, in this black age so shin'd thou bright,
And made all eyes with wonder thee behold,
Till ugly Death, depriving us of light,
In his grim misty arms thee did enfold.

Come in turbato Ciel lucida stella
Lampeggiar suol con chiome aurate, e bionde,
Che mentre illustra questa parte e quella,
Invida ed atra nube in sen l' asconde;
Cosi fra noi splendesti, anima bella,
Nel fosco orror, ch' intorno or si diffonde;
Ma chiuse il tuo splendor Mort' empia e fella,
Nè più tal lume in noi deriva altronde.

Occasionally a more indirect process of imitation is resorted to, as for example in the epitaph-sonnet which follows the *Tears on the Death of Mœliades*. In this case the four opening lines of the Italian poet's sonnet 'Al Sepolcro di Alfonso I' are expanded to eight lines:

Stay, passenger, see where enclosed lies
The paragon of princes, fairest frame
Time, nature, place, could show to mortal eyes,
In worth, wit, virtue, miracle to fame:
At least that part the earth of him could claim
This marble holds, hard like the Destinies:
For as to his brave spirit and glorious name,
The one the world, the other fills the skies.

Fermati, o tu, che passi: è qui sotterra
Il grand' Alfonso, io dico il mortal velo,
Che 'l nome, e l' alma termine non serra,
Ma l' un riempie il mondo, e l' altra il Cielo.

The terminal couplet presents a condensation of the first quatrain of a second sonnet of Tasso on the same topic:

Then go and tell, from Gades into Ind,
Thou saw where earth's perfections were confin'd.

Qui giace Alfonso, e piantò il sacro alloro
Qui la Vittoria, e n' adombrò la tomba:
E qui l' ale depose, e questa tromba
La Fama, onde il fe' noto all' Indo, al Moro.

[1] The resemblance between the two pieces had already struck Drummond. In the 'Character of Several Authors,' appended to the abridgment of the *Conversations* with Ben Jonson, in the Folio edition of his Works (1711), Drummond remarks in reference to Donne: 'I think, if he would, he might easily be the best Epigrammatist we have found in English, of which I have not yet seen any come near the Ancients. Compare Song: *Marry and Love* etc. with Tasso's stanzas against beauty; one shall hardly know who hath the best.'

Again a madrigal, such as the one addressed 'To Thaumantia' (Ward I, 167), may prove on examination to have been transmuted from part of a sonnet. The ultimate source in this case is, of course, Catullus, but a comparison of the phraseology can leave no doubt who Drummond's model was:

Come, let us live and love,
And kiss, Thaumantia mine:
I shall the elm be, be to me the vine;
Come let us teach new billing to the dove;
Nay, to augment our bliss,
Let souls even other kiss;
Let Love a workman be,
Undo, distemper, and his cunning prove,
Of kisses three make one, of one make three. etc.

Viviamo, amiamci, o mia gradita Jelle,
Edra sí tu, che il caro tronco abbraccia:
Baciamci; e i baci e le lusinghe taccia
Chi non ardisce annoverar le stelle.
Bacinsi insieme l' alme nostre anch' elle:
Fabro sia Amor, che le distempri e sfaccia,
E che di due confuse una rifaccia,
Che per un spirto sol spiri, e favelle.
etc.

Much the same method is followed in the madrigal 'Upon a Glass' (Ward I, 160) which was manifestly suggested by the sonnet of Tasso entitled 'Porge la speechia alla sua Donna.'

Another Italian poet of the time to whose verse the Scottish poet went for inspiration is Luigi Groto, a prolific author in various branches of literature, generally known as Luigi Groto Cieco d' Adria, whose *Rime* (especially the madrigals), it may be noted in passing, were laid under heavy contribution by the brothers Davison in that part of *Davison's Poetical Rhapsody* which appears under their names.

From the blind poet of Adria, Drummond, who is known to have had a copy of his *Rime* on his shelves, undoubtedly adapted Sonnet VI:

Vaunt not, fair heavens, of your two glorious lights
Which, though most bright, yet see not when they shine,
And shining, cannot show their beams divine
Both in one place, but part by days and nights;
Earth, vaunt not of those treasures ye enshrine,
Held only dear because hid from our sights,
Your pure and burnish'd gold, your diamonds fine,
Snow-passing ivory that the eye delights;
Nor, seas, of those dear wares are in you found,
Vaunt not, rich pearl, red coral, which do stir
A fond desire in fools to plunge your ground;

Di produr Perle Arabia non si vanti
Più, ne più 'l Gange, onde il Sol novo ascende:
Nè il Tago più, che di fin' oro splende,
Nè di Alabastri pien d' Egeo si canti.
Nè Libia, ove l' Avorio han gli elefanti:
Nè l' Arcadia, che latte ogni hora apprende,
Nè l' India, che il pregiato Hebano rende,
Nè Pesto ove hanno ogn' hor rose gli amanti.
Sola Hadria tutti questi honor giunti habbia,
Che Perle, Sole, Oro, Alabastro, Avorio,
Latte, Hebano produce insieme, e Rose:
Onde le membra di colei compose,
Per cui languisco, e del languir mi glorio:

Those all, more fair, are to be had in her:
Pearl, ivory, coral, diamond, suns, gold,
Teeth, neck, lips, heart, eyes, hair are to behold.

Denti, occhi, crin, sen, man, piè, ciglia, e labbia[1].

Curiously enough one of Drummond's favourite books was *Davison's Poetical Rhapsody*, from which there are copious extracts in his manuscripts. In fact one of his short pieces, entitled 'Constant Love' (Ward I, 175), is a condensation of a 'sonnet' from Thomas Watson's *Passionate Century of Love* ('Time wasteth years, and months, and days, and hours') which appears in the *Rhapsody* and with which Davison had taken many liberties. Watson himself, as he acknowledges, had conveyed the matter of his poem from Sonnet CXXXII of Serafino of Aquila, from whom, it may be noted, Drummond borrowed the trifle entitled 'The Cannon' (Ward I, 155).

Drummond's Sonnet XVII, which reproduces one of the favourite Italian sonnet-themes, would certainly not have received its present shape but for the following sonnet of the *Nuove Fiamme* (1561), a collection of sonnets, eclogues and elegies by Lodovico Paterno, of which the Laird of Hawthornden also possessed a copy:

With flaming horns the Bull now brings the year,
Melt do the horrid mountains' helms of snow,
The silver floods in pearly channels flow,
The late-bare woods green anadems do wear;
The nightingale, forgetting winter's woe,
Calls up the lazy morn her notes to hear;
Those flow'rs are spread which names of princes bear,
Some red, some azure, white and golden grow;
Here lows a heifer, there bea-wailing strays
A harmless lamb, not far a stag rebounds;
The shepherds sing to grazing flocks sweet lays,
And all about the echoing air resounds.
Hills, dales, woods, floods, and everything doth change,
But she in rigour, I in love am strange.

Di zafiri, & di perle in novel anno
Si veste; ne piu neve appar ne' monti;
Chine portan l' altere humide fronti
I fiumi, e 'n pace entro à suoi letti stanno.
Sotto 'l tepido sole allegri vanno
Con le Ninfe i pastori; & sour' i fonti
Puri; & ne' rami uccelli avezzi, & pronti
Sfogan piangendo ogni passato affanno.
Quinci vacche mugghir, quindi poi gregge
S' odon balar; l' aura d' intorno spira:
L' aria, l' acqua, & la terra è bella in vista.
Sol meco Amor con piu severa legge
Opra sue forze, & la mia vita attrista
Sì, c' homai vengo à me medesmo in ira[2].

[1] *Delle Rime di Lvigi Groto Cieco d' Hadria.* In Venetia, appresso Fabio, & Agostino Zoppini fratelli. 1587, p. 65.

[2] Cf. p. 95 of the 1568 Lyons edition of the *Nuove Fiamme.*

In Paterno, Drummond also found the opening lines of Sonnet x:

Fair Moon, who with thy cold and silver shine
Makes sweet the horror of the dreadful night, etc.

Luna, che col tuo puro, & freddo argento
Sueli à la maggior ombra il fosco horrore, etc.

The rest of the poem, as I have already shown (*Modern Language Review*, v, 44), is taken straight from Passerat, as is also the 'pyramid' in verse at the end of the *Tears on the Death of Mœliades* (Ward i, 15). The idea of the pyramid Drummond probably found in Tabourot or in the *Arte of English Poesie* attributed to Puttenham, but the matter of it is a close paraphrase of one of Passerat's sonnets (*Les Poésies Françaises de Jean Passerat*, ed. P. Blanchemain, ii, 77). On the other hand the two pieces 'Phyllis, on the Death of her Sparrow' (Ward ii, 158), and the pastoral song 'Phyllis and Damon' (Ward i, 141) figure in the Hawthornden manuscripts (vol. x) with the superscription 'Translation of the death of a sparrow, out of Passerat' and 'Song of Passerat' respectively. They must accordingly be deducted from Drummond's unacknowledged debt to Passerat.

The far-fetched sonnet addressed to a window (Ward i, 85), with its curious hyperboles, was manifestly suggested by the following lines of Claude de Buttet, one of the numerous provincial adherents of the Pléiade, who in 1560 published a sonnet sequence addressed to a fictitious mistress whom he chose to call Amalthée. Buttet won no great fame among his contemporaries, in spite of the fact that he appears to have enjoyed the friendship of Ronsard and that he is mentioned by Pasquier in his *Recherches de la France* for certain metrical innovations. It was probably through the medium of that part of Pasquier's *Recherches* which deals with contemporary French literature, of which there exists a careful précis in the Hawthornden manuscripts, that Drummond's attention was drawn to Buttet's verse. However, previously to Drummond's time Buttet was not unknown in Scotland, and we have it on record that his poetical works formed part of the library of Mary, Queen of Scots:

Thou window, once which served for a sphere
To that dear planet of my heart, whose light
Made often blush the glorious queen of night,
While she in thee more beauteous did appear,
What mourning weeds, alas! now dost thou wear!

Fenestre heureuse, où je vi que s'ornoit
Si gentement ma terrestre Déesse,
Entrelaçant avec sa longue tresse
Ses frisons d'or, lors que le jour venoit.
D'un estomach découvert, qui donnoit
Un doux chatœil, une douce liesse,
Tant me charmas au doux mal qui me presse
Que du plaisir l'ame m'abandonnoit.

How loathsome to mine eyes is thy sad sight!
How poorly look'st thou, with what heavy cheer,
Since that sun set, which made thee shine so bright!
Unhappy now thee close, for as of late
To wond'ring eyes thou wast a paradise,
Bereft of her who made thee fortunate,
A gulf thou art, whence clouds of sighs arise;
But unto none so noisome as to me,
Who hourly see my murder'd joys in thee.

O quel grand bien me fis-tu recevoir
En ce jardin, mais paradis terrestre,
Où de mon dueil le plaisir fut vaincueur!
Ainsi souvent te puissé-je revoir,
Maison d'amour, et toi, douce fenestre,
Qui lors me cheus pour jamais dans le cueur[1]!

The madrigal 'Apelles enamoured of Campaspe' (Ward I, 156) appears also to have been modelled on Sonnet XXIV of Buttet's *Amalthée.*

An examination of the Hawthornden manuscripts, which I had projected long ago, but which I was not able to carry out before last Easter, was not so fruitful as I had anticipated in revealing new sources, although it confirmed a large number of my previous results. In vol. VIII of the manuscripts, under the rubric 'Madrigali del Sig. Vallerio Belli dedicati al Sig. Battista Guarini, 1599' occurs the following Italian madrigal which is obviously the model for 'The World a Game' in the *Flowers of Sion* (Ward II, 27):

This world a hunting is,
The prey poor man, the Nimrod fierce is Death;
His speedy greyhounds are
Lust, sickness, envy, care,
Strife that ne'er falls amiss,
With all those ills which haunt us while we breathe.
Now, if by chance we fly
Of these the eager chase,
Old age with stealing pace
Casts up his nets, and there we panting die.

Questo mondo è una caccia, e cacciatrice
La morte vincitrice:
I veltri suoi rapaci
Sono cure mordaci,
E morbi, e mal, da cui cacciati siamo:
E se talhor fuggiamo
Vecchiezza sua compagna
Ci prende ne la ragna.

From the *Parnasse Satirique* (from which there are several extracts in the Hawthornden manuscripts), or from some other French collection of the same kind, Drummond copied down in his commonplace book the coarse French piece which in its English form was first printed in the folio edition of his works under the heading 'The Statue of Alcides' (Ward II, 157).

Ward is in error when he says (II, 310) that the madrigal 'Venus armed' is an imitation of a Latin epigram by Sannazaro. A version

[1] *Œuvres Poétiques de M.-C. de Buttet*...par le Bibliophile Jacob (Paris, 1880), I, 120.

of it figures in vol. x of the Hawthornden manuscripts under the title 'Madrigali di Mauritio Moro.' On looking up Moro's 'Madrigals' I find that Drummond has departed very little from his model, except in the concluding lines:

To practice new alarms
In Jove's great court above,
The wanton Queen of Love,
Of sleeping Mars put on the horrid arms;
Where gazing in a glass
To see what thing she was,
To mock and scoff the blue-eyed maid did move;
Who said, sweet Queen, thus should you have been dight
When Vulcan took you napping with your knight.

Cinte le spalle havea,
E de l' arme di Marte ornato il petto,
La bella Citherea:
Onde Pallade ciò prese à diletto,
E disse: o vaga Dea
Fur d' huopo l' arme, allhora,
Ch' aprì i furti d' Amor, chi 'l Mondo infiora.
Cipria ciò udendo, ascose
I gigli del suo viso, in belle rose[1].

A perusal of Moro's verse also revealed the fact that the madrigal 'To a Swallow' (Ward II, 148) is transferred, still more literally, from the pages of the same author:

Fond Progne, chattering wretch,
That is Medea: there
Wilt thou thy younglings hatch?
Will she keep thine, her own who could not spare?
Learn from her frantic face
To seek some fitter place.
What other may'st thou hope for, what desire,
Save Stygian spells, wounds, poison, iron, fire?

Garrula Rondinella
Quest' è Medea crudele, e ancor nol vedi?
Se l' empia ai figli suoi fù fiera, e fella,
Che fara a' tuoi c' ha in seno?
Sciocca, da lei che chiedi?
Foco, ferro, ò veleno?
Mira al tuo scampo, mira,
Ch' il suo petto crudele avampa d' ira.

Lastly a curious instance of Drummond's imitative habits, and generally of the difficulty of tracing some of his sources may be instanced. Under the heading 'Jodel in Dido' one reads (MSS. vol. x, 152) the following lines from Jodelle's *Didon*:

. . . . . beaux teints
Qui tout ainsi qu'on voit la fumee azuree
Du soulphre, reblanchir la Rose coloree,
De moment en moment par l'extresme douleur.
Change avec un effroy sa rosine couleur[2].

Next follow three rough copies, with numerous erasures and emendations, of the madrigal which first appeared in Philipps' edition (1656) of

[1] *I Tre Giardini de' Madrigali del Costante, Academico Cospirante, Mauritio Moro, Vinetiano.* In Venetia, MDCII, p. 134.
[2] Acte IV.

Drummond's *Poems* in the following form (Ward II, 147), and which has re-appeared unaltered in subsequent editions down to the present day:

> Look how in May the rose,
> At sulphur's azure fumes,
> In a short space her crimson blush doth lose,
> And, all amaz'd, a pallid white assumes.
> So time our best consumes,
> Makes youth and beauty pass,
> And what was pride turns horror in our glass.

In none of the three manuscript versions can I discern any justification for the reading adopted by Philipps in the first and last line. This is not an isolated case; and I hope to be able to show, in the critical edition of Drummond's poems which I have in preparation, that a more thorough examination of the manuscripts is necessary, in many cases, in order to establish a trustworthy text.

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ETYMOLOGIES.

BALINGER. I have spent a great deal of time on this word without coming to any conclusion, except that the accepted identification with 'F. *baleinier*, whaleman, whale-boat,' is probably wrong, although the two have been confused. There appear, in fact, to be three groups of medieval ship names which have got muddled, viz. Du. *bylander*, a coaster, whence probably F. *bélandre*, It. *belandra*, Sp. and Port. *balandra* (Jal), L.* *balœnarius*, whence F. *baleinier*, Sp. *ballener*, Port. *baleeiro*, etc. (Körting, § 1167, Jal, s.v. 2 *baleinier*), and our *balinger*. The confusion between these is seen in the fact that the A.F. *balenger* of the Black Book of the Admiralty is wrongly rendered in each case *bilander* in the translation (temp. James II), while Froissart's normal *balengier* occurs in some MSS. as *ballener*. Jal devotes a long article to the word, and, while admitting the identity of E. *balinger* and F. *baleinier*, puts the connection with the whale very vaguely (s.v. 1 *baleinier*). For some years I have been in the habit of noting occurrences of the word in medieval texts and a comparison of some sixty or seventy instances has led me to the following conclusions:

(i) The word crops up in the fourteenth century and is obsolete c. 1600, app. superseded by *pinnace*.

(ii) The *-ng-* forms are essentially E. or A.F., though they occur also in O.F. writers dealing with E. naval matters (Froissart, Wavrin), and occasionally elsewhere.

(iii) The *balinger* was the smallest warship, the classification 'niefs, barges et *balengers*,' occurring repeatedly in naval documents, where F. texts usually have 'nefs, barges et *batels*.' It was chiefly for scouting duty.

(iv) The name was applied also to small coasting vessels and to tenders accompanying large merchant ships.

(v) No connection with whaling is ever suggested, nor have I found an E. *balener*, although '*baleen*, whale,' was a familiar word in M. and Tudor E.

(vi) The *-g-* was possibly hard, the normal Sc. form being *balingar* and the M.L. (Walsingham) *balingaria* as well as *balingeria* (Rymer).

What I regard as a possible etymology is suggested by the history of *boyer*, which corresponds to G. *Bojer*, used of small vessels in the North Sea and Baltic, and goes back to Du. '*boeyer*, genus navis' (Kilian). This is certainly related to Du. '*boeye*, G. *Boje*, bury,' but the reason for the name is obscure. In the 'Rooles d'Oleron' in the Black Book of the Admiralty occurs *balingue* (var. *balinge*, *balingne*) in the sense of 'buoy' and also the verb *balingner* (var. *balinger*, *baligner*). Jal also quotes '*baleingue*, buoy.' I propose therefore the proportion *balinger* : *balinge* :: *boeyer* : *boeye*. This *baling(n)e* is probably related to the mod. '*balise*, buoy,' of unknown origin (v. Du. *langer* and v. *balisagium*). It is *balingua* in the Catalan version of the Rooles.

Cadger. The N.E.D. has a verb *cadge*, with various senses connected with 'binding.' It is from M.E. '*caggen*, to bind,' which, as the N.E.D. says, cannot be connected with F. *cage*, to which the older etymologists referred *cadge*, *cadger*, in the 'peddling' sense. The N.E.D. suggests that '*cadge*, to peddle,' may be a separate word, and derives *cadger* from it. My object is to show that the *cage* etymology is very probably right for *cadger*. To begin with, *cadger*, recorded for 1450 (*cadgear*, Henryson), cannot very well be derived from the verb '*cadge*, to carry about as a pedlar does his pack,' which is not booked till 1607. It would rather seem that the verb is a back-formation (cf. *hawk* from *hawker*, *peddle* from *pedlar*). Leaving aside the dubious 'falconer's *cadge*' of 1615 which has been copied by so many dictionaries, there is an authentic '*cadge*, panier' (N.E.D.). The verb *cadge* is especially Sc., and I imagine the *cadger* transported his wares on his back or in paniers slung on each side of his 'capel.' I cannot quote for O.F. '*cage*, basket,' but it has several senses approximating thereto, and its It. cognates *gabbia*, *gabbione* have both meanings. The following entries from Kilian's 'Appendix peregrinarum, absurdarum, adulterinarumque dictionum,' seem, however, to prove this meaning: '*cagie*, cavea, cors (sic), cista, corbis dossuaria,' and '*cagiacord*, cestifer. qui caveam aut corbem portat.' Unless these words are borrowed from Sc., which seems unlikely, they must represent O.F. '*cage*, basket,' and, with suffix change, '*cagier*, cadger.' *Rippier*, sometimes synonymous with *cadger*, is derived by the N.E.D. from '*rip*, basket,' a parallel formation.

Discard. Explained usually as from *dis* and *card*, hence 'to reject a card.' The N.E.D. compares O.F. *descarter*, Sp. and Port. *descartar* (Minsheu), It. *scartare* (Florio). It is, however, very doubtful how far these words originate from card-playing, though '*scartare*, to discard at cards' (Florio), may be a separate word from '*squartare*, to quarter' (Torriano). The view generally held (Schéler, *Dict. Gén.*, and see Körting, §§ 2123, 3476) is that there has been contamination between two separate words, and that It. *scartare* (whence G. *Skat*) and F. *écarter*, in the card-playing sense, belong to *carta*, while, in the general sense of removal, separation, rejection, we have to do with a L. **exquartare*. The O.F. *descarter*, quoted by the N.E.D., means in Godefroy, *écarter*, the only example being '...les Anglois...tueront grand nombre de Françoys et les font *descarter*' (15th cent.). F. *écarter* occurs too early (12th cent.) for it to have been a card-playing word. The oldest record in E. for *discard* (c. 1580) gives it the meaning 'degrade, dismiss, cashier,' and this is the only meaning recognized by the L. dictionaries of the seventeenth century, from Holyoak (1611) onward and by Sherwood in his index to Cotgrave (1650). Cotgrave does not appear to recognize the 'card' sense of '*escarter*, to scatter, dissipate, disparcle; also, to *discard*; to set, or lay apart; also, to sheed, squatter, throw about, or abroad.' Sp. *descartar* has the general, as well as the special, meaning, and even It. *scartare* is used for *ricusare, rigettare* (*Voc. della Crusca*) by Davanzati (1529—1606), while *scartate* (Florio, Torriano) means 'ill companie,...such as are *discarded* from others.' Considering the early occurrence and meaning of O.F. *escarter*, it looks as if the 'card' idea had been forced into all these words by popular etymology. In the case of E. *decard*, used in 'card' sense, c. 1550, and meaning 'reject' (1605), the chronology is, however, reversed. Apart from the improbability of the general meaning of *discard* having been evolved from the special sense, and the impossibility of this having been the case with F. *écarter*, a formation from *ex* or *dis* and *carta* seems unnatural. Such a word should mean rather 'to remove from the card'; cf. *disburse, disfranchise, disgorge*, etc.

Discuss. The accepted theory is that this verb represents the L. past participle *discussum*, Englished as *discuss* (1340) and appearing in A.F. as *discussé* (1352). It would be more natural for the word to have entered E. through F. In the *Liber Albus* (p. 214) I find 'tieux custumes et usages serront *discuz* par les Mair et Aldermans, et ceo

avaunt juggement sur ceo rendue.' This *dis-cuz* appears to be the past participle of O.F. *descoure*, of which the *Dict. Gén.* (s.v. *discuter*) says that traces are found in O.F., though Godefroy gives for it only the meaning 'punish.' The formation in E. and A.F. of verbs from O.F. past participles is common. The verb *discusser* (*Liber Albus*, p. 219) is probably formed from *discuz* in the same way as '*arser*, to burn' (*ibid.*, p. 267) from O.F. *ars*. The *Liber Albus* was composed in 1419, but the matter copied into it is mostly of much earlier date.

Pallet. In the sense 'helmet' or 'head-piece,' the N.E.D. has numerous examples, usually *pal(l)et(t)e*, from 1374 onward. It is also jocularly used for 'head.' It is referred to O.F. *palet*, which Godefroy explains as a dim. of '*pal*, stake,' and for which he gives one example (1384) meaning 'helmet' and a later one in the sense of 'head.' The inclusion of this word under '*palet*, small stake,' seems to be an error. The analogy of *basnet* suggests that it is an E. adaptation of F. '*palette*, small bowl,' used specifically of the barber's bowl (the helmet of Mambrino) used for blood-letting, which is for O.F. *paelete*, dim. of *patella*. The D.G. quotes *paelette* (13—14th cent.). The fact that *palette* is not recorded in the sense of 'helmet' in F. is not a serious objection, as E. has '*mazer*, (1) bowl, (2) helmet, (3) pate,' from O.F. '*masere*, bowl.' The second example in the N.E.D., 'a prevy pallette... to hille here lewde heed' (1399), shows that the *pallet* was, like the *basnet* and *sallet*, a close-fitting steel cap. I conjecture that Godefroy's *palet* is a re-imported A.F. form; see Du Cange, *palettus*. The naming of helmets from humble utensils is a common phenomenon, e.g. in a will of 1411 (*Earliest English Wills*, ed. Furnivall) a knight bequeaths to his three sons a *basynet*, *pallette*, and *ketel hatte* respectively.

Stay. The derivation accepted at present is from O.F. '*estayer*, to prop,' the transitive sense of checking, bringing to a standstill, having passed over to the intransitive (cf. *delay*). It is supported by the gloss. 'resto, obsto' in the Prompt. Parv., which explains *steyyn* (var. *staien*) as 'cesyn of gate.' The M.E. Dict. of Stratmann and Bradley gives only this example, with a pret. *staid* (Lidgate), so that the material necessary for really settling the etymology will not be available till the N.E.D. reaches the word. The old etymologists (Minsheu, Skinner) derived it from M.Du. '*staen* (now *staan*), to stand,' the connection with '*stay*, prop,' being apparently first suggested by Francis Junius. It is possible that both etymologies are to some

extent correct, but I wish to urge the claims of a third, viz. O.F. *ester*. This has been proposed before. The Century Dict. remarks 'By some derived from O.F. *esteir, ester, estre*, F. *être*, to be, remain, continue; but this derivation is on both phonetic and historical grounds untenable.' This is a cryptic utterance, suggesting that O.F. *ester* (*stare*) and *estre* (*essere*) are the same word. I do not know what the historical objections are. *Ester* is a very common word in A.F., and it would be curious if it had not passed into E. Nor are the phonetic difficulties very serious. It is well-known that a number of E. verbs of O.F. origin are derived from past participles (*issue, value, foreclose, forfeit, defeat, paint*, etc.). The O.F. past participle *esté*(*e*) is commonly used of a 'halt' or 'stay' (see Godefroy). Although F. *-é* usually results in E. *-y* (*bounty, city, ditty*, etc.) it appears that *-ée* often gives M.E. *-eye*. Behrens (in Kluge, *Geschichte der englischen Sprache*[2], 1899) quotes *contreie* (: *waye*) and other examples. Although this is now regularly reduced to *-y*, owing I suppose to the shifting of the accent, it would remain in a monosyllable; cf. *fay* (Gower), O.F. *fee*, L. *fata*, an exact parallel to *stay*, O.F. *estee*, L. *stata*. Past participles of neuter verbs used as abstract nouns are regularly in the feminine form (*allée, arrivée, sortie, venue*, etc.) in O.F. (e.g. *allee, demouree* in Joinville). I suggest therefore that our *stay* is this O.F. past participle, probably first used as an abstract noun and then as a verb (cf. *value*). One might also invoke the Eastern forms of the verb, *esteir, steir*, with past participle *estei*(*e*), *stei*(*e*), and such common A.F. spellings as *espeie* for *espee* (*French Chronicle of London, Liber Albus*, etc.). The present participle of *ester* is regularly in A.F. *esteaunt, esteiaunt*, which appears to indicate that the stem was felt *este-, estei-*.

ERNEST WEEKLEY.

NOTTINGHAM.

AN ANGLO-FRENCH LIFE OF ST OSITH

THE manuscript from which this life is taken—Welbeck 1Ci—is sufficiently well known to readers of the *Modern Language Review* to need no further description[1]. In the fourteenth century it belonged to a nunnery at Campsey, near Woodbridge in Suffolk[2], where it was used for pious readings at mealtimes[3]. It contains the following thirteen lives: (1) *St Elizabeth of Hungary*, (2) *St Panuce* (*Paphnucius*, probably by Bozon), (3) *St Paul the Hermit* by Bozon, (4) *St Thomas of Canterbury* by Garnier de Pont-Sainte-Maxence, (5) *St Mary Magdalene*, (6) *St Edward the Confessor*, (7) *St Edmund of Canterbury*, (8) *St Audry of Ely* by a certain 'Marie,' (9) *St Osith*, (10) *St Faith* by Simon of Walsingham, (11) *St Modwenna*, (12) *St Richard of Chichester* by Peter of Peckham, (13) *St Catherine of Alexandria* by Sister Clemence of Barking[4].

It will be noticed that no less than seven of the above lives are those of British saints; many of them exist in no other manuscripts.

The legend of St Osith or rather Osgitha, is a hopeless tangle of anachronisms if we are content to follow the text printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, III, Oct. 7, pp. 936–44, nor can the skill of the editor reduce its contradictory statements to order. Much of the conflicting data disappears, however, when we only take into account the simple

[1] See Vols. III, p. 374, IV, p. 491. *Romania*, XXXII, p. 637.

[2] Cf. my article, *Romania*, XXXVIII, p. 418.

[3] The MS. bears the remark: 'Ce livere [est] deviseie a la priorie de Kampseie de lire a mengier.'

[4] No. 1 has been published by Prof. L. Karl in *Zeitschr. für rom. Phil.*, XXXIV, 295; Nos. 2, 3 and 12 by the present editor in *Romania*, XXXVIII, 418; *Modern Language Review*, IV, and *Revue des langues romanes*, July 1910 respectively. No. 4 has been published by Hippeau (Paris, 1859) and Bekker (Berlin, 1838) but not on this MS.; Prof. Oelsner has an edition in hand on all the MSS. No. 5 has been published by Reinsch in *Archiv f. d. Stud. d. neu. Sprach.*, LXIV, 15—94, and Prof. Karl has given the variants of the Welbeck MS. in *Zeitschr. für rom. Phil.*, XXXIV, 362; No. 6: see the article of P. Meyer in *Romania*, XL, p. 43, where 186 lines are printed; No. 13 by Jarnik: *Dvě Verse starfrancouzské Legendy*, Prague, 1894. I have nearly ready for the press an edition of *St Modwenna* and in an advanced state editions of Nos. 7 and 10. I have photographs of all the remaining lives and am preparing editions of them.

recital contained in the oldest of the MSS. extant, viz., Bodley 285. So straightforward does this version appear that I have decided to print it as footnotes to the French text at such places as its narrative fits the French poem. Readers will then see how the legend has grown and be able to decide what may be regarded as interpolations in our text.

The story as contained in MS. Bodley opens with the list of the pious descendants of Penda of Mercia, who, though remaining till the end of his life a heathen, permitted his relatives to embrace Christianity: then comes the betrothal of Osgitha to Siherus, king of the East Saxons, the reference to the various devices by which she prevented her husband from consummating the marriage, the announcement of the appearance of the white stag, the chase, Siher's return after many days to find that Osgitha has profited by his absence to receive the veil from Ecca and Bedewin; Siher's grief at the decision of his wife; his gift of the manor of Chich as a dowry and the precise date 653. The next items are the martyrdom of Osgitha at the hands of pirates, the incident of her carrying her head into the Church of St Peter and St Paul, the smearing of the church door with her bloody hands, her burial at the entrance of the choir. After some miracles have been worked at her tomb, her body is first translated to a place in the middle of the choir and then, under Bishop Maurice of London (1087–1107), the body was again removed and placed behind the high altar. The French poet takes no account of the next item—the glass ampulla and the miracles worked by the balsam it contained[1], but a reference is made in the text of the *Acta* (§ 11) and in the MS. Cotton, Tiberius, folio 248 to the healing of a deaf-mute. Finally our MS. mentions that Richard (1108–28), successor to Maurice in the see of London, honoured the saint and settled regular canons at Chich in 1120; it suggests that large numbers of miracles were worked by the virtues of the holy Osgitha but mentions one only which took place in the times of Bishop Richard. This is the story of the theft of the piece of marble by German sailors who called at the mouth of the Colne during their voyage from Yarmouth to Antwerp (ll. 857—1064).

It has been objected that the legend of St Osgitha as above related, puts Siher ten years and the bishops Ecca and Bedewin twenty years too early, but Siher is mentioned in Bede (III, 30) for the year 665 as returning to heathenish practices during a plague in his dominions and as being re-converted by Bishop Jaruman and there seems no reason why he should not have been married to Osgitha twelve years previously;

[1] It should be noted that MS. Lansdown also omits this, see footnote to lines 825–56.

again the appellation of Ecca and Bedewin as 'pastores et pontifices' is not conclusive evidence that they were bishops at the time Osgitha took the veil, as the second term may be merely anticipatory—the French text says of them:

> Prestres esteient ordinez
> Et seinz evesques puis sacrez (417–18).

The first addition to the legend we may take to be posterior to Richard[1] bishop of London who died in 1198. There is no evidence for it outside the French text which tells that this bishop coveted the wealth of the canons of Chich—their importance may be adduced from the fact that their first prior, William de Corbeuil, became archbishop of Canterbury in 1123, and their wealth from the imposing list of benefactors and manors and that at the time of the suppression the priory was valued at over seven hundred pounds per annum—and sent his seneschal to forbid them to enjoy the emoluments of their office. This is a curious side-light on the character of this bishop; for from the *Vita magni sancti Hugonis* (Hugh of Lincoln) we learn that in November 1197 there came a demand from King Richard for 300 knights, or money sufficient to hire as many mercenaries, to serve against Philip of France. The Archbishop (Hubert of Canterbury) convened a council of bishops and barons at Oxford, and some of the bishops were evidently indignant at the command for we have the Bishop of Lincoln protesting: 'I know that the Church of Lincoln is bound to provide military service for our Lord the King, but only in this country; outside England no service is due.' The Bishop of London, on the contrary, speaking as Dean of the province, declared his willingness to comply with the King's demand, wishing evidently to stand well with the King and recoup himself from the possessions of the canons of Chich. For his punishment I know no authority but the French text; in William of Malmesbury, however, we find that Richard—the founder of Chich—suffered from paralysis and intended to retire to Chich; the two Richards must have been confused. The second addition we must consider to be the connection of Osgitha with Modwenna. Leland in the *Itinerary*, VIII, ii, fo. 92, gives the heads of the life of Osith ascribed to a certain Albericus Verus (see above, footnote to Richard) canon of Chich and dated 1250. To him is perhaps due the

[1] Richard Fitz-Neal, chancellor and author of the *Dialogue on the Exchequer*, cf. Schofield, *Anglo-Latin Literature* in *English Literature from the Conquest to Chaucer*.

The reference in Dugdale (Stevens' translation, p. 140) is as follows: 'St Osith's Priory at Chich in Essex, founded by Richard Belmeis, bp. of London, with a design to have resigned his bishoprick and become a Canon Regular himself but that he was prevented by death. Albericus Verus figures here as one of the benefactors.'

connection of Osgitha with Modwenna. One must remember that there are probably three different holy women of the name of Modwenna (or Monenna) whose deeds go to build up the story of that saint. The connecting link between Modwenna and the subject of our manuscript must be looked for in the similarity between the list of the pious ancestresses of Osgitha and the various Mercian princesses who lived in religion and were connected with Modwenna; the Edith (daughter of Ethelwulf) of Streaneshalh (Whitby) must have suggested the Edith (daughter of Egbert) of Streveshal in the forest of Arderne—Warwickshire and companion of Modwenna—the names are constantly confused in the MSS.[1] In the lives of Modwenna, both in that of Conchubranus and in the later one of Geoffrey of Burton, appears a maiden Osid or Osith but no mention is made in either of her forbears. It is not clear from which of these the writer of the Latin text published in the *Acta* took his story of the three-day immersion of Osith in the river Anchora but the French poet probably knew the version of Conchubranus, and not that of Geoffrey as Hardy (Descriptive Catalogue, I, 2, No. 1097) suggests. In Conchubranus alone (II, 8) we find a mention of Osith accompanying Modwenna to Rome (cf. line 211) and in it the bridge is said to be 'unum lignum' (II, 9) like the French 'd'un sul tref' (line 275). It will be noted that the adapter of the Bodley text says he will tell only one miracle—that of the German sailors—he may probably have known, though he omits, that of the paralytic woman which is told in an abbreviated form in the *Acta* and the Cotton MS.[2] Her lapse from the paths of righteousness, punishment and second healing are similar to the previous story in the same text, where a girl whose arms are paralysed had been cured, but breaking her vow of continence by marriage, the same penalty is imposed and on further repentance she is again healed (AA. SS. § 11). As to the other MSS. mentioned by Hardy, MS. Tanner 15, pp. 445–8 is identical with the text of the *Acta*, MS. Lansdown 436 ff. 29, 30 is identical with Bodley 285 except for an occasional change in spelling or word order and a number of omissions

[1] Cf. the excellent edition by Esposito in *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. XXVIII, and the MSS. Mostyn and Royal, 15 B. IV, which will be printed in my edition of Modwenna.

[2] AA. SS. § 11. 'Mulierem contractam Virgo sancta erexit.
'Puella quædam officio brachii adeo privata, ut lateri ejus inseparabiliter inhæreret, cum meritis S. Osithæ perfectæ sanata esset, votum continentiæ nuncupavit; sed postea cum quodam juvene matrimonium contraxit. Ei S. Ositha apparens, cur temerario ausu vota, quæ distinxerunt labia sua, rupisset, spurcissimum conjugium improperando, redarguit, et compedum vinculo invisibili pedes ejus arctius constrinxit, ut pedem pedi subjectum divellere non valens officio pedum prorsus destituta ultionis divinæ flagellum sentiret. At tandem tamen meritis sanctæ virginis sospitate reddita, correctius deinde vivere studuit.'

which we note by ( ) in the text here printed, while Bodley 240 is a series of *Lectiones*[1].

Our author (or authors, cf. below) does not appear to have used any of the MSS. that have been enumerated; thus he mentions Osgitha's birthplace as Querendon (line 184) as does Leland (quoted by Dugdale); in the chase King Siher pursues the stag as far as Dunwich (line 616) which seems to be an addition of his own; the names of the pirates responsible for Osgitha's execution are Ynguar and Ubba (line 770) known only from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 870, and they are mentioned as the slayers of Eadmund both in the poem (line 776) and in the same year in the Chronicle. According to the Chronicle these Danes came down from Mercia and settled at Thetford and pushed their plunderings thence, while in the French poem they landed near Chich (line 792). Then, too, as has been pointed out, the whole story of Richard's persecution of the canons of Chich and his punishment rests on no known source. That the sources for a poem should only be preserved in outline is unfortunately very common. It happens only rarely that a French poem and its Latin source form a close parallel as is the case with Peter of Peckham's life of St Richard of Chichester and with St Modwenna; this is natural, however, when we consider that the mass of material was so great that 'abbreviationes' were necessary and that these, put into the order of the liturgical year, form the legendaries which are in so many cases only preserved[2].

The portion of the Welbeck MS. which contains the life of St Osith is in a good late thirteenth century hand and very legible; the MS. we may suppose to have been put together early in the fourteenth century —there are three different hands and perhaps more[3]; we may assume that our portion dates somewhere about 1260–70. On reading the poem we are struck by a discrepancy in the language and scansion. The early parts dealing with Osith's youth, i.e., the first 180 lines or so—the marriage, the taking of the veil; the chase; the martyrdom; the incident of the sailors; the paralytic woman—as we shall state in greater detail later, do not appear attributable to a date later than the end of the twelfth century. The last incident concerning Bishop Richard must be later than his death in 1198 but probably very little later; while the Modwenna story may belong to the second half of the

[1] I have to thank Mr Winstedt of the Bodleian Library for this information.

[2] See Paul Meyer's articles in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xxxiii, *Notices et Extraits*, xxxvi, etc., etc., also the *English Legendary* in E.E.T.S., Vol. 87.

[3] Prof. Karl has promised a fuller description of the MS. in a forthcoming number of the *Revue des langues romanes*.

thirteenth century. In the paragraphs dealing with the language and versification we call this episode (B) and the former (A).

As has been often stated, Anglo-French is not a distinct dialect showing normal and regular development, and phenomena that would be adequate for approximate dating in other dialects are useless here unless supported by other evidence. It may be well however to enumerate certain linguistic traits and to compare them with other Anglo-French works; for this purpose we take the *Vie de saint Gilles* of Guillaume de Berneville, the works of Simund de Freine and those of Chardry, dated by their editors at about 1170, the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century respectively.

1. Cases of the confusion of *e* < Latin *a* with *ie* < *a* preceded by palatal or *ĕ* occur with ever increasing frequency till by the beginning of the thirteenth century rimes where the two sounds are kept distinct are due only to chance. Our text only offers cases of this confusion in the parts called (A) and (B), cf. § 17. This must be due to some special reason, which I have been unable to determine and which I think could only be determined if we had sufficient manuscript material for a sound critical text. Even if we could consider the whole poem, except the episode (B), now published as of one writer and one period, the fact that only three instances of this confusion occurred would still be remarkable. This phenomenon cannot help then for the dating of the poem; it might point to the author being a Frenchman of France if other facts bore this out, but they do not seem to do so.

2. From the foregoing we shall understand that there can be no rimes such as *cel* < cælum : *el* < alum for aliud; this is also true for St Gilles (which, however, confuses *ié* with *é*) whereas Simund and Chardry know this confusion.

3. Confusion of infinitives in *-er* < -are and those in *-er* (for eir) < ĕre is unknown to St Gilles and our poem, whereas cases of this are in Simund and Chardry; cf. *Rom. Forschungen*, I, p. 210.

4. Confusion of infinitives in *-ier* with those in *-er* (for eir) < ĕre does not occur in St Gilles and in our poem only in (B), cf. § 17, but there are certain cases in Simund and in Chardry.

5. *-ai* and *-ei* final; these vowels are kept distinct in St Gilles and in our poem, but in Simund and Chardry there are cases of confusion. This confusion seems to date from the last decade of the twelfth century.

6. *-eie* and *-ée* final. This rime only occurs with the word *veie* < via and a few past participles of the first conjugation, cf. ll. 811, 1185, 1207,

1333. This is fully discussed in § 15; although the spelling *-ei* for *-e* occurs in many texts I have not met it in rime with *-é* except in Frère Angier (1212–14) and Chardry, who has *monée* < moneta in rime with *dunée* and *aportée* [*Sept Dormans*, 1205, 1291].

7. *-ais* and *-eis*. Our poem has no instances of rimes in *-ais* and only one in *-eis*, viz. *reis* : *Engleis* 131, cf. § 15, nor does it mix *-ais* with *-es*; it has pure rimes in open *e*, cf. § 3. This must be due to chance as cases of this confusion are found in Gaimar, Adgar as well as in St Gilles and Simund. In spite of Koch's assertion that Chardry keeps the sounds separate, we have *curteise* : *pleise* and *treis* : *mauveis* in the *Petit Plet*.

8. *-ait* and *-eit*. These sounds are kept distinct in St Gilles and in our poem, cf. §§ 13, 15; some hesitation in Simund and Chardry.

9. *-air* and *-eir*; e.g. *detraire* : *creire*. These are distinct in St Gilles; our poem contains one case viz., *feire* : *trere* 1195, cf. § 15. Confusion is frequent in Simund and Chardry.

10. *-aire* and *-ère*; e.g. *faire* : *terre*; confusion in St Gilles and in Simund and Chardry; our poem, probably only by chance, has these rimes distinct, cf. § 3.

11. *-ui* and *u*. This change of *-ui* to *u* does not take place exclusively on English ground; before *s* it is common in Norman. In St Gilles the sounds are kept distinct; in our poem confusion is only found before *s* and *t*. In Simund the change occurs in addition before *r*, e.g., *dedure* : *dure* [S. G. 123], while in Chardry it is found even when the vowel is final, e.g., *ennu* : *vertu* [*Jos.*, 2925].

12. *-eus* < -alis or -illos; these endings are distinct in St Gilles but confused in Simund and in Chardry; there are no instances in rime in our poem.

13. *-an* and *-en* + consonant. No confusion in St Gilles, our poem nor in Simund, whereas Chardry has some cases of confusion, viz., *obeisanz* : *cumandemenz* [*Jos.*, 555].

14. *-ain* and *-ein*. These sounds are not found riming together in St Gilles, but our poem has *main* : *sein* < sinus 667. In Simund and Chardry confusion is common, cf. § 14.

15. *-ien*. The rimes on this vowel are pure in St Gilles, in our poem and in Simund. There is of course the regular variation with *nient*, cf. § 18.

16. *s* and *z*. These consonants are kept distinct in rime in St Gilles, in our poem and in Chardry; there is one case of confusion in Simund, cf. § 32.

17. *-eit* added to verbs of the first conjugation unknown to St Gilles and to Simund is found in our poem only in (A) and (B). In Chardry this mistake is regular, cf. § 55, iv.

18. The feminine *e* is rarely mute in the body of the poem, very frequently in (B) and less frequently in (A), cf. § 5.

From this rapid survey it appears that the bulk of our poem must be placed near the end of the twelfth century and that it is probably older than the works of Simund de Freine and of Chardry. The other portions may, as I have already suggested, be placed in the early part and in the second half of the thirteenth century respectively. The reasons for the divisions (A) and (B) will be made plainer in the paragraphs dealing with versification.

Ici comence la vie seinte Osith
virge e martire.

[134 v° a] Ceo nus mustre seinte escripture
Bon fu ki met en Deu sa cure,
Et aime e creient son creatur
Plus ke ne fet autre seigniur;
Ki l'aime e creient e bien le sert,
Ne ci ne ailliurs ja ne pert;
Ki guerpist terre pur son non
Ciel li donne de gueredon;
Ne change cil pas follement
Ke terre lesse e le ciel prend;
Ne follement ne change mie
[134 v° b] Ke lesse mort e receit vie;
Cil change bien, cil change a dreit
Ki mort lesse e vie receit;
Kar certes del mund la richesse
N'est fors dolur e granz tristesce;
Honur del mund est trespassable,
Et a nus tuz mut poi estable.
Ki ne volt creire ne saveir,
Bien l'os dire, fols est pur veir.
Veum par ceus ke sunt alé—
Nos ancestres e trespassé;
U sont nos aels e nos peres
U [sont] nos uncles e nos meres,
Ke tant furent riches e beaus,
Assez orent dras e chiviaus?
Tuz sont alez, sachez en fin,
Si vous atendunt en chemin;
. . . . . .
Quel jur son eire ert aprestez;
Pur ceo vus di, si l'entendez,
Ki aime Deu bour fu nez.
Kar tant cum il Deu amera,
E son servise meintendra,
Pur veir vous di, n'estut doter
Quel jur deive del siecle aler.
A Deu tant bonz fu finement
Ke de seinz Deu example prent,
Ki guerpirent terre e honur
Et tut le mund pur Deu amur,
Et soffrirent hunte e esclandre,
Pur Deu firent lur sanc espandre;
En bone entente e (en) bon espeir
Mort donerent pur vie aveir;
De tels a grant plente trovum
[135 r° a] En seinz escriz ke nus lisum;
Et nient de madles solement,
Mes de femmes tuit ensement.
Seintes (e) veraies Deu anceles,
Et d'alquantes tendres puceles,
Ke tut le mund unt refusé
Pur prendre sei a Dampnedé(u),
Et suffrirent pur son non
Ou veraie conpunction.
De une tele volum parler

2 Cf. § 44 iii. 6 Cf. § on Hiatus. 21 MS. *c̃eus p̃ar ke...*

32 MS. *bonz*: the emendation seems certain, for the expression *bor* (*beor*, *buer*, etc.) *est nez* is exceedingly common, cf. line 1424, but it does not render the line correct in scansion. Cf. § 64. It is interesting to note that the *bor i alasses* of *Alexis*, 90 e figures in one MS. also as *bon*....

37 The reading *bonz* should perhaps be again emended, the sense would be improved, though the tense is awkward.

38 ke=*qui*, cf. § 49. 48 ui for u (o), cf. § 10. 50 MS. *de qñz.*

53 The line might be corrected by inserting *mut* before *suffrirent*; the verb requires an object, cf. vv. 41, 42 above.

Ke durement fet a loër,
Ke Deu ama e Deu servi,
Et tut le mund pur li guerpi;
Et pur son verai creatur
Guerpi son terrien seigniur.
Li reis estoit fort e puissant
Pur Deu l'ad tut refusant,
Pur li suffri peine e dolur,
Et martyre a chef de tur.
La virge dunt [vus] voil parler
Sovent avez oy nomer,
Sa vie n'est guerres leue,
Ne cum dreit fust par tut seue;
Ele est par non Osyd nomée,
De Engleterre nurrie e née;
A Deu voua son pucelage,
E bien le tint tut son [e]age;
Sa vie est bele e gloriuse,
Seinte e duce e preciuse;
En cest romanz purrum oir
A prendre bien e retenir
De seint Osith e de sa vie,
Cum Deu la choisi a amie;
135 r° b Cum Deu l'aveit amé et chere—
Mustré l'ad en meinte manere;
Par miracles e par vertu
Ke en plusiurs lius sunt avenu,
Et bien veu par Engleterre,
Et en la peis e en la guerre;
Ke Deus i ad fet apareir
Et nuit e jur, (e) matin e seir;
Entendez i communaument,
Kar ge le vus di seurement,
Meuz vaut oir ici entour
Ke de la geste paenur,
De Guercedin e de Saisons,
Deu enemis e felons,
E d'autre teus pur verité,
U l'em vus ment a grant plenté;
Ky aime e ot la vanité,
Deu li en set mut [de] malgré.
Des seinz Deu la veraie estoire
Devum aver bien en memoire;
Kar quant nus la folur oum,
Essample sovent en pernum;
Ky sen escute e sen entent
Il en amende mut sovent.
De seinte Osith or(e) vous dirum,
Si cum en l'escrit le trovum;
Certes mut fet a amer,
Et a criendre e a duter;
Mut par est bien de Deu lasus,
Bien le direz kant orez plus;
Mut est dutuse a curucer,
Kar tantost pense sei venger;
N'i ad mester coruz ne plait,
135 v° a Tost se venge ki se mesfait,
Cum vus avant orrez assez;
En cest romanz si l'entendez,
Ne serrez de fables peu,
Mes de miracles e (de)vertu,
Ke Deus en Engleterre fist
Pur seinte Osith k'a li se prist;
Si en crei ke volenters l'orast
Ke seinte Osith gre le sav(er)ast;
Kar ki voudra bien peut aider
Vers Dampnedeu e avancier.
Ore entendez bien dunc sa vie
Ke en puissez aver aie,
Sucurs e son amendement
Vers Dampnedeu omnipotent.
La virge Deu tant bonurée
Ke seinte Osith est apellée,
Gentil esteit de parenté,
Fillie ert au rei mut renomé,
En Engleterre esteit cil reis,
Fredeyold l'apelent Engleis.
Seinte Osith ot cil rei a pere,
Withborc reine fu sa mere
Ke esteit fillie Pende le rey,
De grant puissance e de nobley,
Et mut out en subjection;

62 Cf. § 56 corr. *li va refusant.* 64 Cf. § on Hiatus.
65 The spelling *virgine* (cf. l. 382) could be adopted instead of amending *vus*.
74 Cf. § on Hiatus. 88 Cf. § 5 ii (*δ*).
89 It is common in Agn. didactic poems to find epic and lyric poetry decried; cf. my note in *Vie de Saint Richard*, *l. c.*
91 The king of the Saxons in the *Chanson des Saisnes* of Jean Bodel; a large number of variants of the name exist, but this seems to be a new one.
92 Some word seems to be missing from the text, perhaps *mals*. 97 Cf. § 20.
105 A small space is left in the MS.; perhaps *ele* should have been inserted. Reasons why St Osith should be feared are furnished by the miracles.
106 Cf. § on Hiatus. 119 Cf. § 53. 120 Cf. § 59. 121–2 Cf. § 55.
vv. 126–50 Beata virgo et martir Osgitha ex nobilissima Anglorum stirpe extitit orta. Erat filia Fredeswaldi regis (atque Wilburge regine, filie Pende regis de quo Beda in tercio ecclesiastice Anglorum istorie libro mencionem facit). Qui Penda licet in paganissimo usque ad finem sue vite permansisset filium tamen christianissimum nomine Peadam et filias neptesque et proneptes sanctissimas habuit, (quarum corpora per Angliam diversis in locis quiescunt). [Bodley, 285 f°, 121 r° b.] Omissions in MS. Lansdown shown by ( ).

Seint Bede en fait grant mention
En cele estoire des Engleis,
E dist tut fust cil paens reis;
Il out enfanz de bone fey,
Verais en crestiene ley;
Un fiz aveit mut renomé
Fillies e neces a (grant) plenté
135 v° b Ki se pristrent de Deu de tut,
Amerent e servirent mut.
Le reis Pende dunt ay parlé
Les chers enfanz out engendré
Ke Dampnedeu a sei choisi;
Lur non avez assez oy:
L'une est nomé[e] Keneburc,
Et l'autre ad non Eadurc,
Seinte Osith fu del parenté,
(Kar) lur niece fu pur verité;
Example prist de lur chasteté,
Pur Dampnedeu servir a gré.
Entains en sa primere enfance
En fiz Deu aveit sa fiance;
Entente e tute s'amur
Aveit en Deu son creatur;
Richesce aveit a grant noblei
Si cume fillie a riche rei;
Plente de vivre e de manger,
Et quanque l'em en mund ad cher;
Mes trestut ce petit preisa,
Pur Deu despit e tut lessa,
La richesce ne tut le bien,
K'en mund veeit ne preise rien;
Bien le sachez ke la pucele
De face esteit e clere e bele,
De cors bien fete e acemée,
Mes plus dedenz fu esmerée;
Riches e povres refusa,
Son pucelage a Deu voua,
Et cil requist come seigniur
Ke violée ne seit nul jur;
Et Dampnedeu bien l'en oy,
136 r° a Par sa ducur e sa merci
Ne perdi sa virginité(e),
Pur nul home de mere né(e);
Unc (nul) hom de ce ne la conut,
Virge nasqui, virge morut.
La vile u seinte Osith fu née
Querendone est apellée;
Assez sevent li païsant
K'en la contrée sunt manant,
Plusurs [del] luitain autresi,
Le liu u seinte Osith nasqui;
Enseignie i ad assez apert,
Ke puet chescum fere cert,
Unkes puis jekes a cest jur
Au liu n'out herbe ne verdur:
Par son nestre est le liu sacré,
(Et) de tut humein us sequestré;
Dementers k'en ceste vie fu,
Deu fist pur lui mut grant vertu,
Et pus k'est martir mut a fest,
Dunt partie orrez si vus plest,
Pur vus joir ge [vus] dirray,
Une partie ke apris ay;
Si cum avant [ge] vus disai[e]
Kant des parenz Osith tuchai[e];
Seinte Osith out grant parenté
De grant richesce e (de grant) seinteté,
Aels e uncles de grant poesté,
Auntes e neces de grant chasteté;
Li plus[or] d'eus sunt assemblé,
Au pere Osith sunt conseillié
Ke a tel mestre seit Osith baillié[e]
K'en nule manere seit afolé[e].
136 r° b A Modwin baillier a plus plout,
A cest consent le conseil finout,
Kant la pucele parler saveit,
A Modwen l'abesse baillie esteit;
A merveille ama e chere tint,
A Rome fu, ou li revint.
Ceste Modwene dunt ay dist,
Juste Ardene deus musters fist;
L'un a Polesvurche ce dient la gent,
L'autre en Stranesrale vereiment.
Modwen en l'un sujurna,
A Edith l'autre otreia;
Al rei Edfrid esteit seur,
Modwen ver li out grant amur.
Un jur issi aveneit
K'en oreisuns Modwen loinz aleit;
A Edith Osith enveia
Ke bien la preist kar mut l'ama;
Sa compaigne out long tens estée
Mut fu de lui joiuse e lée;

155 See § 70. 157 Cf. § 59.

vv. 151–6 (Nam sancta Keneburga et sancta Edburga ejus filie sancta vero Mildridtha neptis et sancta Werburga sanctaque Elstredâ et sancta Elgida proneptes ejus fuisse testantur cronica.) [Bodley, *ibid.*] 172 Cf. § 65.

184 Cf. § on Versification. For this see Introduction. Quarrendon is a village 1½ miles N.W. of Aylesbury. There exist the remains of an early church.

185 Cf. § 31, and English tyrant, parchment and their French equivalents. Cf. l. 589 and § 31.

190 Cf. §§ 59, 65. 200 Cf. § 45. 205 Cf. § 70.
211 For the Modwenna episode, cf. Introduction. 212 Cf. § 68.
218 MS. *teus*. 221 Cf. § 65. 223 Corr. *serur*, cf. § 43, iv.
225 Cf. § 65. 226 Cf. § 67.

Aukes [de] tens ert trespassé,
Modwene a muster est repairé,
Un livre out trové Edithz,
Plein de proverbes e (de) bonz diz ;
Examples i trova a grant plenté,
De vertuz e de seinteté ;
Ne vot cel bien sule celer,
Mes ou Modwen comunier,
A volage ne vot baillier
Ki l'empeireit de leger.
Osith apella par grant ducur :
'Plereit, dist ele, bele seur,
'A nostre mere Modwen aler,
136 v° a 'A li cest livre par moi porter ;
'Dirrez ke granz biens i puet trover,
'Dunt se memes puet amender,
'Et par doctrines k'ele trovera
'Tuz les sens amender purra.'
Osith encline, lui otria,
Dist ke volenters i irra ;
Le livre prent, rien ne resta,
Mes al aler se [a]presta.
Ha Deu ke Edith ne seust l'aventure
K'avendreit a Osith en ceste ure,
Ne la lerreit aler (si cum) je crei
Pur tut l'or Mide le rei.
Si Edith seust ke li avendreit,
Cest(e) eire emprendre ne li suffreit
Pur tut l'or ke seit en Espaine,
Ne pur [tut] l'onur de Lovaine.
Si Edith seust ke Osith est a venir,
Cest message ne li freit furnir,
Pur ce k'ot Salamon le sage
U Alisandre en tut son age.
Mes Deu li cela cest conseil,
Kar de Osith vot fere grant merveil.
Ivern ert e mut out pleu,
Pur ce la pucele n'est (re)mansu ;
A l'aube del jur (en) la matinée,
Errant se est acheminée ;
Le livre prist e s'en ala
A Modwen u Edith l'enveia.
En cest chemin une ewe curreit,
U la damisele passer deveit ;
Le punt fu lung e d'un sul tref,
Passer comensa pouruse e suef
136 v° b La rivere fu large e parfund,
Et ele ert ja en mi le punt ;
Le vent fu fort e mut bruant,
Les pans de son mantel despant,
Mes par les taches al col remist,
Et par les gerrons a sei (le) prist
Son mantel ke le livre obli,
Ke de ses meins en l'ewe chai ;
De cele perte fu esbai,
Al prendre s'abessa si le suivi ;
(Bien) cuida son livre aver receu,
Mes amdeuz l'ewe ad reteneu.
Loinz de cel liu les desaka,
(Et) en une krenke les jeta,
[Et] bien treis arpenz loin del pont,
Les graventa en un parfunt,
La jurent amdeuz treis jurs
Et treis nuiz sanz [aucun] succurs ;
La jurent treis jurs e treis nuiz
Si enfundre en un puiz ;
Treis jurs e nuiz Osith i jut
Iloec neé en cel duit.
Issi Osith gesir larrum,
Et de sa dame nus cunterum.
Del quart jur s'esclarzi la matinée,
Edith s'est mut esmerveilliée
Ke feist Osith tant targer ;
Dist k'ele irra l'encheson saver.
En son quer suffri grant batestal,
Bien leva devant le chant de gal,
Errant se mist a cheminal ;
Modwen l'encuntre par esperital ;
Si cum Edith aveit veu
137 r° a Modwen silence ad derumpu ;
Bien par son semblant ad aparcu
K'ele fu dolente et irascu.
'Edith, bele seur, k'estes dolente?'
'Dame : (dit Edith) ore oez qui me turmente,
'Damoisele Osith vus enveiay,
'Un livre portant ke mut amay,
'Hui est le quart jur trespassant
'Puis n'en oi mes ne cuntrement ;
'Dame, k'est ele demoré tant?'
Dist Modwen : de ço 'ne soi rien avant.'
Si l'une e l'autre fu esbaye,
Ceo demander serreit folie,
Pasturs furent leus delez,
Lur bestes pessanz par ces pres ;
Les dames a eus sunt alez
Apres saluz unt demandez :
'Amis ke Deu vus doint sauveté,
'Ceo dunt vus prium diez verité,
'Veistes une damoisele al punt aler,
'A la matinée li tierz jur fu er,
'Afublé out un neir mantel?'
A ceo dient li pasturel :

239 volage, cf. § 59.
242 Cf. § 43 iv.
245 Omit *ke*, cf. § 53 1. iii.
253 § 53 vii.
261–2 Cf. § 59.
281 Cf. § 59.
283 MS. *ken*.
290 *krenke*, cf. § 59.
293 Cf. § 65.
296 Cf. § 59.
306 Cf. § 48 *a*.
307 *se mettre a chemin* is a known phrase, the present is used for the rime. *cheminal* appears to be very rare.

'Une tele pucele cum vus querez,
'Hui est quart jur veimes assez,
'Amunt sur la chause passer,
'Jeske al punt veimes aler,
'Mes kar a nos bestes entendium
'Plus n'en seumes en fei vus dium.'
Lors ke neé[e] fust suscherent
Les dames e al punt repeirerent;
Amedeuz se mistrent en oreison,
Ou plurs ou grant devotion,
187 r° b Ke Deu lur deignast le cors mustrer,
Ke suveus le puissent enterrer,
Primes sa preere Modwen fina,
A pont Osith deuz feiz clama;
'Damoisele Osith venez hors
'Ke veer puissum vostre cors;
'A ceo vus doint force e vigur
'Ke Lazre suscita al tierz jur.'
A peine out Modwen sa voiz fini
Ke de l'ewe Osith ne issi,
Neste e secke son livre ausi,
Et dist: 'dame veez moi ci.'
Si cum del tut fu virgine pure,
Son livre e li sunt sanz muilliure.
Ha Deu ky [dunc] pust esgarder,
Quel joie les dames vunt demener.
Tut le mund dust [il] refuser,
Ki ces treis pust bien aviser.
Modwen Osith ad a sei prise,
Tant cum vesqui li est remise,
Tant cum Modwen fu en vie,
De li Osith ne fu partie.
Ke ja ne seit celée cest miracle,
Cum Osith en l'ewe out habitacle;
L'euue ou Osith fu neé[e]
Tut dis puis en ad renomée;
Ke ja mes en secle ne seit celée,
Le liu Ninnepol est apellée;
Ke dunc fust nunein ne di pas,
Kar l'en le tendreit a folie e gas
Si dunc fust nonein velée
Ne fust apres reine espusée.
Assez a[i] dist de cest veage,
187 v° a Or(e) vus dirrai del mariage;
Kant Modwen fu en cel mené,
Frethuuald sa fillie ad repellé.
Le sunt e joius (tuit) li parent
De sa porture e enseinement;
Tuit fu son purpos e desir
Virgine vivre e [virgine] morir.
(En quel change serra martir)
De cest purpos n'est ensensé
Son pere, pur ceo s'est purpensé
D'Osith, k'il la volt marier
A poestif homme le rey Syer.
Seinte Osith en est anguisuse,
Pensive en quer e doleruse.
Mes al pere de ceo n'est rien,
Que que li seit eu mal eu bien,
N'i ad rien d'escusation,
Faire l'estuet eu voillie eu nun.
Li rei fet mander ses amis,
Baruns e cuntes del pais,
E chivalers e autre gent,
Pur lur conseil communalment.
Al rei Syer ad fet doner
Osith sa filie e espuser,
Solunc la gard ke fu asis
En icel tens en lur pais.
Syer le rey sa femme ameine,
Ele out au quer dolur e peine,
E Deu requert omnipotent
Ou lermes mout espessement,
Ke ja ne li seit violé
Ceo que peça li out voé,
Sun pucelage li purgart
187 v° b Ke ne perde ne tost ne tart;
Mes si cum s'est a lui donée,
Bien li puisse estre gardée.
Le jur ke seinte Osith alat.
Kant li rey Syer l'enmenat,
Witburg sa mere al departir
Deuz homes fist ou li venir,
Ke Dampnedeu aveient cher,
Ententif mut a sun mester;
Prestres esteient ordinez,
Et seinz evesques puis sacrez;
Bedewin out li un a nun,
Ecca li autre cumpaignun.
La reine ad a ceus liverée,

339 Cf. § 59, cf. Godefroy vii under suschier=penser, most of the examples are taken from Anglo-Norman sources.

341 Cf. § 64. 343, 344 *Ke* may be omitted. Cf. § 52. 350 Cf. § 66.

351 Cf. § 59. 367 *ou*, MS. *eu*, cf. ll. 390, 392. 377–8 Cf. § 44 B. iii.

385 MS. *lavoit marcer*: Godefroy v, 253 c gives *mercier quelquechose à quelqu'un* in the sense of *l'en récompenser*. The reading *marier* seems to make better sense.

386 Cf. § 60. 390–2 Cf. § 24.

vv. 384 seq. (Talibus igitur beata virgo et martir Osgitha orta parentibus) cum [MS. Lans. reads: cum igitur beata Osgitha..] jam adulte esset etatis invita ut postea patuit tradita est in conjugium Sihero regi orientalium Anglorum. [Bodley, *ibid.*]

vv. 401–84 Qui cum post celebratas nupcias ejus vellet uti connubio et illa ejus lasciviam diversis occasionibus diu impedisset, tandem universis pene consumptis cum quadam die ejus virginitati graviter insistens illam vi opprimere conaretur. [Bodley, *ibid.*]

417 Corr. *proveire...ordiné seint evesque...sacré*. Cf. § 43 iv and 44 iii.

Osith sa fillie e comandée,
Pur li garder en dreite fey,
En dreit amur e en sa ley.
Li reis Syer ses noces tint
Si cum a rei plus bel cuvint;
E les plus bauz de sun regné
Le jur i avei(en)t ensemblé,
Mut se peinat de tuz heiter.
La nuit quant vint puis a cocher,
Sa femme ad fet tost demander
Ke tant al quer puet desirer.
Kant seinte Osith out la novele
A Dieu ceo dist: 'la vostre ancele
'Pur vostre nun or defendez,
'Le vostre poer i mestez,
'Si i mestrai trestut le mien
'Ke ne seie pur nule rien
'Hunye a nuit ne violée;
'E quant me sui a vous donée,
138 r° a 'Defendez moy cum vostre amye
'Ke ne seie a nuit honye.'
A tant si est avant venue,
Si tost cum li rois l'ad veue
Mut la coveite mut la desire
Et seinte Osith li dist, 'beau sire,
'Pur Deu merci, kar m'entendez,
'(Et) aukes de respit me donez;
'De ceste assemblé[e] entre nus
'Dunt vus estes tant desirus,
'Respit vus requer sire rey,
'Si ja voilliez joir de mey.'
Cil la ne vout pur rien oir
Mes tut dis tire a son desir.
Cele pur rien ke sace dire,
Par boneirté plus ke pur ire,
Ne vout faire ne consentir
A son talent n'a son pleisir.
Mut requert termes e respiz
Mes il le fait mut a enviz;
Et nequedent tant l'ad luctée
Requis[e] mut e travailliée;
Par la vertu del seint esperit
Ke l'oure est mis en respit;
Deus l'ad gardé omnipotent,
Onc ne l'aprocha charnel(e)ment,
E gueres plus ne demora
K'il autre feiz la resona
Ke a li se vout assembler,
Respit ne [li] vout plus doner.
Mes seinte Osith cria merci
A Dampnedeu tut autresi
Cum aveit ele fet devant
138 r° b Ke par son nun l'ert defendant.
Li reis comence a losenger,
E tel oure est, a coroucer;
Mes tant a purchasé e quis
E tant feit entre giu e ris,
De jur en jur est purloinié
Charnelement ne ad aproché.
Soventefeiz l'ad envaie,
Mes Dampnedeu garda s'amie,
K'ou son barun maneit issi
Virgine treis anz e demi.
Un jur apres issi avint
Li reis Syer sa feste tint
K'il fist de sa nativité;
Grant poeple i out assemblé
Contes, barons e chivalers,
Ses frankeleins e ses terrers.
Le jur quant il aveit mangé,
Et sunt partut joius e lé,
Et il meimes bien enbeverez
En la chambre est tut dreit alez,
Et s'i cuche [de]sur sun lit;
Kant reposé s'est un petit
Sa femme fet a ly venir,
Si la comence en lit gisir,
Bien entrussement li dist,
Mes ne li durra [il] respit.
Kant seinte Osith icest entent,
Plure des oilz mut tendrement
Et vers le ciel la sus garda,
Et Dampnedeu mut reclama,
Ke par la sue grant vertu,
G[a]rant li seit en bon escu.
138 v° a Li reis se peine mut forment
De son bon fere e sun talent,
E ele a trestut sun poer
Se tint cuntre l'ardent voler,
Mes come de plus se defent
Cil se deve e plus esprent,
De son bon fere met pur veir
Tute sa force e son poeir,
E jure asez e dist le bien
Son cuntredit ne li vaut rien.
En ceste anguisse u ele esteit

445 Considering the great regularity of the lines of this episode, we may be justified in supposing that the repetition of *mut* is due to the scribe; the scansion would be rendered correct by reading *e* for *mut*.

459–60 Cf. § 32.

460 MS. *envis*.

461 MS. *luciée*.

464 Cf. § 59.

490 *frankeleins*, *terrers*, cf. § 59.

499 The full form, according to Körting s.v. *extrorsus*, is *estrosséement*, which would correct the line, but probably the line should be emended *li a dit* or *dist*, cf. § 32, and then the present form would stand, cf. § 52.

508–13 Cf. § 59.

E la dolur k'al quer aveit
Seinte Osith ententivement
Reclama Deu omnipotent,
E dist: 'Sire Deu, vostre aye,
'Ceste ancele, n'obliez mye,
'Tantes feiz m'avez sucuru,
'E mun cors, sire, defendu;
'A ceste feiz, (sire) me sucurez
'Des maus a cestui (me) delivrez,
'Si vus promet pur verité.
'Sanz enfreindre la veray voé,
'Si vus a ceste feiz aydez
'Pur mei succure e travailliez;
'Puis ceste hure mettrai pur veir
'Tute ma force e mun poeir
'Ke mes travail n'avrez en pose
'De mey ayder pur cele chose.'
Quant seinte Osith aveit dit tant,
Este vus une noyse mut grant,
K'en cele sale est ja levée;
La gent laenz se desree
E haut e bas comunaument
138 v°b Crient e huchent durement,
E vers la chambre vunt errant,
Li un ariere li autre avant.
'A Deu,' funt il, 'li reis u est?
'Allas, ke il ne set icest
'K'hui en cest jur est avenu,
'Mut se tenist a deceu,
'Si il seust ceste aventure
'Kant venu n'i est a dreite hure.'
Ly reis escute e entent
La grant noyse ke funt sa gent,
Coment le vunt tut demandant
E il s'en turne maintenant,
E vers l'uis de la sale vait,
Pur saver moun quel noise i ait;
E puis k'il lur ad demandé,
Delivrement li unt cunté
Cum faitement un poy avant
Un cerfs tut blanc i vint curant,
Ke de la mer tut dreit veneit,
Et si curut a grant espleit,
La hors u bien esteit veus,
Par les braches e les seus,
U tut esturent a lur past,
Si cum les chiens rien ne dotast;
E li brachet trestuz cuplé
E li seuz entremedlé,
Li autre chien petit e grant,
A fort espleit le vunt siwant.
Ly ke pout unk(es) cheval aver,
Apres s'en est alé pur ver,
E que cheval n'en aveit prest,
Tut a pie alé s'en est.
139 r°a Quant li reis ad iceo oy
'Ostez,' ceo dist: 'trop ai dormi:
'Ça, mun cheval delivrement.'
E il ne s'est targié nient,
Ainz comande trestuz munter,
E sei meimes fet aprester,
Puis est munté [tut] maintenant
E vait le cerf a plein siwant.
Li cerfs s'en vait ou grant bandon,
Li reis apres e cist baron;
Current li chien a grant espleit,
E li cerf est venu tut dreit
Desk'a un bras parfund de mer,
U ne soleit nuls hom passer,
Kar l'ewe esteit redde e parfunde
Li cerf s'est mis tut dreit en l'unde.
Cel bras de mer li païsant
Castlewade vunt apellant;
Li cerf en l'ewe noe amunt
Les chiens anguissus sunt,
Crient e funt noise mut grant.
A nou le vunt a plein siwant,
Li reis en est mut anguissus,
Del cerf prendre mut desirus,
Kar unkes ne vit il nul jur
Cerf ne bisse de sa blanchur.
Il vait puignant par cel sablon,
Hurte chival de l'esperon,
Coment chevache ne li chiiet,
En bras de mer parfund se met,
Red e parfund esteit le guez,
Devant ceo n'ert unc mes passez
Par home a chival ne a pié,

523 Cf. § 59.
531 Cf. § 53 III ii.
537 Cf. § 15.
554 Cf. § 59.
528 Cf. § 5.
536 Read *es vus* and compare l. 905.
542 Cf. § 66.
556 Cf. § 5 II.

vv. 558–626 Subito quidam cubiculum intrasse fertur qui regi nuntiaret cervum nive candidiorem pro foribus aule undique libere [121 v° a] discurrere quasi regi et suis omnibus insultaret. Quod rex audiens ceptam voluntatem mox postposuit et cervum cum suis venatoribus et militibus perniciter insequitur.

572 Cf. § 65. 574 *Ostez*. Cf. § 59. 589 Cf. line 185.

592 It is improbable that this line is as it left the poet. The scribe may simply have omitted a member of the phrase as *e.g. de siwre* (cf. l. 595), or, what I consider more likely, have changed an older reading containing the word *seüs* (*e.g. li seus mult...*) which had become obsolete (cf. line 566—where the meaning is plain from the context—and the remark of G. Paris in Introd. to *Vie de saint Gilles*, p. xviii).

601 Cf. § 4 A.

139 r° b Trestut primes l'ad asaié.
L'ure quant sunt li chien passé
Estoit li reis parfund en gué;
Mes li cheval iert bon e fort,
Tut sulement se met a port.
Ly cerf a plein en chemin entre
E vunt li chien curant sur ventre,
E li reis vient apres puigniant,
Ses chiens a plein esbaudissant.
Mes li cerf n'est unkes restuz,
Dekes Donewiz est dreit venuz,
Iluec s'est mis en cele mer.
Li reis se peine del haster,
Mes n'i put unc si tost venir,
Pur rien ne put le cerf choisir.
Ne set coment s'en est partiz
Kar de ses oilz est evaniz.
Les chiens esteient tut asoté,
E sus e jus unt regardé.
Ore penst d'autre cerf li reis,
Kar ne verra cesti del meis.
Tant cum li reis vait demorant,
E ou ses chiens le cerf siwant,
Seinte Osith n'ad pas oblié
En quel pour aveit esté.
Ainz dist ke mes ne targera
De ceo k'out empensé peça;
Coment ke li plai pust se prendre,
A Dampnedeu se voudra rendre;
Puis en apres la Deu ancele
Tuit en secrei a sei apelle
Seint Ecca e seint Bedewin,
E si lur dist le chief enclin:
139 v° a 'Seigniurs, ore m'escutez ici,
'Pur amur Deu merci vus cri,
'Pensez de mei conseil doner
'En mund ne voudrai plus ester;
'Ne mes suffrir le grant ennui
'En cel habit u ore sui;
'Jeo voil ke le veil me donez,
'Pur nule rien me ne targez;
'Jeo l'ay tut prest ici ou mei,
'Prendre le voil en bone fei.'
Cil responent: 'Dame merci
'Nus ne l'osum pas fere issi.
'Kar vus estes joint a seigniur
'Coment k'entre nus seit l'amur,
'Par nostre asenz [nus] n'osum pas
'Muer a vus l'abit des dras;
'Mes si vus plest dame suffrez
'A ceo purrez venir assez;
'N'osum tel(e) chose uncore en-
prendre
'Deske en avant bien est d'atendre.'
E seinte Osith requert assez
Pur Deu amur les ordenez;
K'il facent ceo ke lur ad dist
Mes il li unt tut escundist;
E quant la dame bien entent
Ke ne volent faire nient;
'Seigniurs,' ceo dit, 'quant est issi
'Deu penst de mei par sa merci.
Plus en apres leva sa main,
E treit le veil hors de son sein,
E sur l'auter offrir le vait,
Puis de sa main vers li le trait,
E sur son chief le veil ad mis,
139 v° b E ataché e bien asis;
E dit: 'Dampnedeu tut puissant,
'Cors e alme ci vus comant,
'Si me gardez pur vostre nun,
'Car ne ay d'autre guarisun.'
Seinte Osith ad cest oure en pris
Ke sur son chief le veil ad mis.
Le rei revient ja de chascer
U gueres ne put espleiter,
Corus e plein de maltalent;
A l'us de la sale descent,
Car custume est, bien le savez,
Ke riche home coruce asez,
Kant sa beste aver a failli,
E il refist tut autresi.
En la chambre est droit alé,
La reine a tost demandé,
E ele vient en son neir veil,
Al rei en fremist chacun peil.
L'alme del cors pur poi s'en ist,
Tant s'esmai[e], tant enpouerist,

623 Omit *tut* or cf. § 65.

633 MS. *pus se prenge*; *pust* for *peust* cf. § 5 II.

vv. 626–78 Quod cernens beatissima virgo ac divina dispensacione hoc actum intelligens, statim velut ovis erepta de ore leonis, sanctissimos pastores et pontifices Eccam [MS. Neccam] et Bedewinum accersivit, propositum eis sue mentis humiliter indicavit, deprecans ut eam sacro velamine cooperirent, si forte virginitatem suam sic protegere posset. Qui votis ejus humiliter et ipsi faventes eam sicut rogaver[at] Christo mox consecraverunt ac sacro velamine cooperiverunt.

665 Cf. § 59.

687 Cf. Hiatus.

vv. 678–718 Quod cum rex de venacione rediens comperisset, ex intimo cordis affectu dans suspiria graviter doluit, (quia eam sicut proprium corpus dilexit).

691 Corr. n'en ist. Cf. § 53 IV.

692 *empaorir* seems to be rare in verse; Godefroy has no quotations except in prose passages. Cf. § 31 f.

E quant regard la cou(e)le bise,
A poy d'effrai le quer n'i brise.
Del cerf li membre k'il tant suivi,
Quide ke deable l'en a trai;
(Mes) quant se parceit de la reine
De rampuner la ne fet traine
Mut la comence a laidenger
Des paroles e a tencer,
Coruce e deve a desmesure
Asez li dist, asez li jure,
Dist par serment e manascer,
Tut son engin n'avera mester;
140 r° a Ne purra pas si enginner.
.....
Mes ele li dist pur nient le fet,
Pur nul homme n'ert [ja] defet,
Dekes a Deu s'est si rendue,
Mes ne put li estre tolue;
Ainz voudra meuz la mort suffrir
Ke cest abit james guerpir.
A desmesure grant dolur
En fet li rei e nuit e jur;
Lesse son beivre e son manger,
Cum fu jadis acustumer,
Ne put nuls hom a ly parler,
N'en la chambre gueres entrer.
Kant sa dolur a fet asez
Ke tut put estre alessez,
Purpense sey a chef de tur
Ke rien ne vaut sa dolur,
Kant veit ne puet estre muée,
A seinte Osith a gr[a]antée,
Ke remaine tut autresi
En cel abit k'ele ad choisi;
S'il veit ke el estre [ne] peust
Ja le congé pur lui n'eüst;
'Dame (ceo),' dist il, 'quant issi est
'Ke (jeo) ne puis vus tollir icest
'Ceo peise mei estre mun gré,
'Or seit a vostre volunté
'Mes quant l'avez issi empris
'Des or n'i ad en, ceo m'est (a)vis;
'Mes a ceste religion
'Covent ke jeo meste mun don
'La vile Chich vus doins issi,
'Kenclovedene tut autresi,
140 r° b 'Tut ensement Hodefeld averez,
'De ceo faites vos volentez,
'Kar jeo vous bien frai estorer;
'E estre ceo vus voil doner
'De chescun conte e de baron
'La secunde fille par non
'De tant cum ad en mun regné;
'E puis a vostre volunté
'Ensemble ou vus serrunt veléez,
'E en religiun donéez.'
Si cum il dist issi l'ad fet,
E seinte Osith mut tost s'en vet
Pur sa meisun faire aturner
U deit, pur Deu servir, rester.
Aprester fait delivrement
Des offices ceo ke apent;
Les dameiseles sunt mandéez
E de par Deu mut tost veléez;
Ou seinte Osith remises sunt
E tut guerpi l'onur del mund,
A Deu servunt devotement,
E mut i vivent seintement.
Apres lung tens avint issi,
Cum vus avez asez oï,
Des ces paens Deu enemis,
Ke ja vindrent en cest pais,
De Danemarche lur dreit curs,
Gent haye de pute murs,
Ki sunt venu par dreit fuire,
Pur crestiens par tut destruire,
Li deuz tyranz ki unt mené,
Ynguar e Ubba sunt nomé;
Les crestiens vunt destruant,
140 v° a Chasteus e viles asegant,
Ne en pernent autre rancun
De crestien for le chef nun.
Cil deuz tyranz pur verité,
Seint Eadmund unt decolé,

694 *i* cf. § 48. 696 Cf. § 53 i. 698 Omit *la* and cf. § 48.
721 Corr. *purpensa*. 722 Corr. *valut*.

vv. 719–60 Nec tamen illam a proposito suo revocare ausus fuit immo concessit ei ut ipse optaverat castam permanere. Acta sunt igitur hec apud orientales Saxones juxta mare in villa que Chic ab incolis regionis illius nuncupata est, anno dominice incarnationis sescentesimo quinquagesimo tercio. Quam villam rex in possessionem eidem virgini tradens abiit in qua et ipsa usque ad finem vite sue caste perseverando remansit (ubi edificia lapide et latere pulcre constructa habuisse dinoscitur). [Bodley, *ibid.*]

733 MS. *avet*.

738–9 I have not been able to identify these names, the former is perhaps a mutilated form of Camulodunum (Colchester).

vv. 761–806 Qua Deo in eodem loco jugiter fideliterque serviente quidam pirate paganis adhuc irretiti erroribus (cum jam per diversas Anglie partes cedes quasi plures debacchando crudeliter exercuissent), forte illuc applicuerunt, virginemque compertam atque correptam idola blandiciis suadendo minisque terrendo adorare coegerunt. Sed virgo beatissima et blandicias respuit et tormenta derisit. Unde princeps (illius nefandi exercitus) in iram versus capite plecti virginem jussit.

E puis comencent a errer
Par la costere de la mer,
E en viles entrent partut
E ocient la gent a but,
Ardent les eglises a plein,
Tuent les prestres de lur mein,
Robent la gent, funt envayes,
Par tut la u trovent abeies
Le feu i mettent de lur meins,
Moines ocient e noneins,
U k'il viengent, ceo saciez bien,
A destruire ne lessent rien,
E en lur nef entrent apres,
Par icele mer vunt ades,
Tant unt nagé, tant unt siglé,
Ke pres de Chich sunt arivé,
E puis saillirent sur cel gravier,
Le pais vunt tut enchercher,
Pur quere cristiene gent,
K'a quer heent trop cruelment.
Seinte Osith fu le jur alée
Si cum esteit acustumée,
A une secrée fontaine
Quatre meschines ou soi meine,
Pur sei laver i sunt alées
E li paen les unt trovées;
N'entendirent pas lungement
Ainz decolent comunaument
140 v° b Seint Osith ke unt trové ci
E les autres ensemble ou li.
Mes seinte Osith tut erranment
Son chef entre ses mains prent,
Si cum n'eüt anguisse eüe,
Tant veit k'al muster est venue;
La fontaine dont (ele) est alée
A deuz quarenteines de veie
E plus est loinz de cel muster
A dreite veie u a sentier,
U seinte Osith son chef porta.
L'us del muster puis en entra
De ses mains l'ad ensenglanté
Dunt ele aveit son chef porté.
L'enseigne fu apert e grant,
E lung tens puis aparissant,
E si raveit tut ensement
En nostre tens asez [de] gent
Ke l'us virent ensenglenté
Par ki savum la verité.
Seinte Osith n'est unk arestue,
Deke al auter est dreit venue,
E de son chef i fet present
A Dampnedeu omnipotent,
A ly del tut s'est comandée
Pur ki amur fu decolée.
E puis repeire belement
E entre pilers se estent,
En presbiterie del muster,
E ses meins comence a drescer
Vers Dampnedeu son creatur
Pur ki suffri mort e dolur,
[E] torne dreit vers l'orient
141 r° a A Dampnedeu l'esperit rent.|
Seignurs ore avez bien oï
De la vie seinte Osith ci,
Coment pur Deu guerpi le mund
E les richesces k'ici sunt
Pur trover joie pardurable
Ke a tut dis ert estable,

784 Cf. § 5 B ii (*a*).

vv. 807–24 Que decollata se ilico erexit et caput (a corpore longius [121 v° b] rotatum) ambabus manibus accipiens angelico juvamine firmis gressibus illud in ecclesiam que in honorem apostolorum Petri et Pauli antiquitus fuerat constructa detulit. (Distat autem locus sue decollationis ab illa ecclesia quasi stadiis tribus. Cumque caput deportans ecclesiam ingrederetur, ostium cruenta manu forte tetegit. Cujus rei signum nostris contemporaneis manifeste apparuit.) [Bodley, *ibid.*]

vv. 825–56 Hujus igitur venerabile corpus ante introitam chori ecclesie prefate a fidelibus honeste sepultum diu jacuit ubi ejus meritis multa miracula Deus ostendit. (Nam postquam pro fide Christi mortem suscipiendo occubuit atque in ecclesia illa ut dictum est sepulta fuit, sanitates diversarum infirmitatum ibi usque in presentem diem celebrari non desinunt.) Que cernentes pii populi virique sapientissimi cum ymnis et laudibus corpus ejus de eodem loco transtulerunt et in medio choro cum sarcophago honestius posuerunt. (His temporibus contigit mirabilem virum nomine Mauricium Lunduniensem fieri episcopum. Qui cum de virtutibus et miraculis sancte virginis audisset atque eam in sua parochia esse cognovisset, locum humiliter frequentavit, virginemque dictis et factis decenter honorificavit. Cui quoque inter alia placuit ut corpus illius de loco in quo jacuit levaret et in loco eminenciori scilicet post majus altare honestissime poneret. Quod cum devotissime fieret atque tandem venerabili corpore ad votum episcopi positum esset, balsamum quantum habuit sibi jussit afferri atque allatum supra sacrum corpus gaudenter effudit et effundendo ampullam vitream in qua fuit coram omni multitudine que advenerat guttatim excussit. Sed hanc ampullam coram omnibus ut dictum est evacuatam [122 r° a] alio rursus tempore satis meliori balsamo usque ad summam Dei munere repletam episcopus recipere promeruit. Nam non multo post contigit quendam ministrum ejusdem episcopi adeo infirmari ut nec loqui nec aliquid movere se posset sed quasi animam statim redditurus extensus jaceret. Quod cum episcopo nuntiatum fuisset ampullam predictam sibi afferri jussit ut saltem

Trovée l'ad finablement
Sachez ke nen dotum nient,
Kar Deu le rey de majesté
Apertement l'ad ci mustré
Par miracles gentils e granz
Ke pur ly fet aparissanz,
Fort serreit tut a acunter
Mes partie volum mustrer,
U vus porrez tres bien oïr
K'a Dampnedeu fet a servir,
Ky leaument le servira
Sanz gueredon ne s'en irra.

Cum nus avum pur veir oy,
Acune feiz avint issy
Ke grant tempeste out en la mer,
Horriblement la fist emfler,
Jeter guages e verser undes,
Leides, horribles e parfundes;
Ki dunc i furent, bien vus jur,
N'esteient pas del tut seur.
En grant houre de la tempeste
K'en mer feseit si grant moleste,
Par la tormente sunt chaciez
Nefs estranges e travailliez;
Une hore aval, un autre amunt,
Tant cum tut dreit venues sunt
141 r° b En cel havene puis al d[e]rein
A seinte Osith le plus prochein.
Les mariners i unt ancré(e),
Sigle abatu e bien teoldé(e),
Ilokes vunt cum est custume
De tens attendent suautume,
En havene sunt bien lungement
Pur atendre le prospre vent,
E vunt tel hore est a la terre
Pur vitaille e garison quere;
A seinte Osith revunt suvent
A oreisuns ou autre gent.
Un jur i vunt les mariners,
Ly envoisez les juvencels,
Si cum esteient custumer
E pur orer vunt al muster.
A ceo k'aukes i unt esté
E sus e jus par tut alé,
Li uns d'eus cum esteit alant,
Trove un marbre gisant;
Pres deuz espaumes de lungur,
E pleine paume out de laur.
E cil la prist delivrement,
Si l'enporta tut belement,
E si comence a purpenser
K'en son pais la vout porter,

ejus ablucionem super linguam infirmi distillaret si forte gustu illius liquoris aliquid verbum confessionis peccatorum edere posset. Mira res. Nam eadem ampulla episcopo allata optimo balsamo Deo munere plena inventa est. De quo cum infirmus parum gustasset, mox sanitate recepta surrexit et letus quo voluit deambulavit, episcopo et omnibus qui aderant valde admirantibus et Deum in sancta virgine Osgitha laudantibus. Translatio autem hujus gloriose virginis tercio nonas octobris sub Mauricio venerabili episcopo ut prefati sumus facta est et altare ad caput ejus eodem die dedicatum.) [Instead of the passage in brackets, MS. Lansdown has only: Deinde Mauricius Londoniensis episcopus corpus ipsius levavit et post majus altare posuit.] Cujus festum nonas Octobris manifestamus esse colendum quia eodem die pro Christo agonizans mortem temporalem subiit et in gaudium sempiternum cum corona martirii gaudenter intravit. Translatio vero ejus jubente domno Ricardo successore Mauritii, in crastino id est octavo idus Octobris celebratur quia ut isdem venerabilis episcopus dicebat inconveniens erat tamprope ante illius martirii festum translationem ejus celebrare. (O quot et quantis miraculorum signis hec beatissima virgo quanti sit meriti non solum suis compatriotis verum extraneis manifestata est. Sed multis propter fastidium legencium omissis unum ad memoriam referre delectat.)

851 Cf. § 59.

vv. 857–86 Tempore enim prefati pontificis Ricardi quidam [122 r° b] theutonici cum quadraginta navibus alleciis oneratis sicut per singulos solent annos de Gernemutha redierunt et ad portum sancte Osgithe qui lingua incolarum Westmutha vocatur omnes tandem convenerunt. Qui ex singulis navibus elemosinam collectam more solito ad ecclesiam miserunt ut virgine pro eis intercedente ventum prosperum quo repatriarent recipere meruissent.

874 This refers to a Scandinavian custom of erecting an awning over the deck when in port called *tialz*; in St Gilles we find *Funt un tialz desus le tref, E puis s'en issent el graver...* 930–1; the word is Old Norse *tjald* (Germ. *Zelt*; Eng. *tilt*). Cf. § 5 B (γ), § 59.

883 Cf. § 3. The rime words were doubtless in the original, *marinel*; *juvencel*.

890 Corr. *a terre gisant*. Cf. Latin text, or l. 990.

vv. 887–904 Cumque oblatione facta quidam illorum qui eam attulerunt in porticu australi consedissent et ad invicem de amenitate et situ loci loquerentur, contigit forte quoddam frustum marmoris ibi velut neglectum aut projectum in pulvere jacere. Quod cum quidam ex illis latenter rapuisset, secum sociis ignorantibus illud ad navem portavit.

E pense bien k'en son muster
Al pais doner avera mester.
Le marbre porte si s'en vait
[De]vers la marine tut dreit,
Entre sa nef de meintenant,
E del marbre ne fet semblant,
A compaignon mot ne sona,
141 v° a Kar plai n'en tint, bien le mustra.
A tant es vus si unt [bon] vent,
Dreit e portant a [lur] talent,
Drecent lur mast e cordes tendent,
E le wydas par tut amendent,
E puis unt trait lur sigle amunt,
Ancre sakent e si s'en vunt.
De cele nef oir porrez
U li marbre fu enz portez,
Kant li autre vunt herneschant,
E lur aferes adrescant,
E s'aturnent e la e ci,
E cil refunt tut autresi;
Mes kant unt le mast bien fermé,
Ancre saké et veil levé,
E les autres par tut s'en vunt,
Cum cil ki vent a talent unt,
Unk cele nef ne fist semblant,
K'en ewe fust ne tant ne quant,
Ne pur force, ne pur saver,
Ne la porrunt del liu mover.
Les mariners levent lur main
Chescun d'eus se seignie a plein,
Dient entre eus: 'avez veu
'Itel merveillie ne unkes fu;
'Dunc n'avum nus le vent portant
'Cum cil autre ki vunt devant
'Le governail bien ataché
'De gurderis ancre saké
'E drecié mast, sigle amunt trait
'Ke deit ke nostre nef ne vait?'
Puis comandent les compaignons
K'il augent tut a avirons,
141 v° b De totes parz pur asaer
Si rien ne vausist lur nager,
Enteims pur mut estre grevé
Ke del havene seient geté,
Les juvenceus pruz e legier(s)
Se peinent mut del efforcer(s),
E chescun d'euz i met sa main,
Des avirons ferent a plein.
Mes plus semblant ne fist la nef
Ke maison fet le cuchetref;
Bien la porunt conduire ariere
Mes avant en nule manere;
Costeant veit e en belif
Dreit cum cheval ke est restif.
Kant cil veient ke n'ad mester
Ne lur sigler ne lur nager,
Parolent en estreitement
Cume cil ki sunt mut dolent.
'Seignurs,' fet l'un, 'ça entendez,
'Nus sumes mal bailli assez
'E cel veum tut a estrus
'Ke le ire Deu vient sur nus,
'Pur nos pechez bien le savum
'Cest encumbrer en mer avum;
'Criums merci cher compaignons,
'Pur Deu le veir e pur ses nons
'Ke cil ke se savera copable,
'Encumbré de peché del deable,
'Ke il put sei fere confes
'De penitance prendre apres
'Ke Dampnedeu merci en ait
'De ceo dunt il ad mesfait;
'Pur Deu seigniurs ki ke ceo seit,
142 r° a 'Ke conisant seit ore endreit,
'Ke pur un sul e sun peché
'Ne seum tut ci perilié;
'Kar s'il n'i ad amendement
'Ci demorum finablement.'
A ceo (ki l')unt longement parlé,
E entre sei chescun pensé,

906 Cf. St Gilles: *Kar ore vente a lur talent* 1032.

vv. 905–24 Quo facto vento surgente prospero anchoras subtra[h]unt vela suspendunt et versus patriam omnes cum gaudio volucri cursu tendunt, preter unam navem que velut in terra sic in aqua juxta litus fixa remansit.

vv. 925–50 Nec tamen naute navis ejusdem tardius aut pigrius aliis anchoras subtraxerant, immo velum usque ad mali sumitatem trahere studuerant. Sed nec aliqua instrumenta nec velum Deo jubente suum tunc poterant officium habere. Naute itaque dolentes et causam penitus ignorantes per navem discurrunt, funes expediunt, contos exponunt, remos deiciunt, clamando pellunt, trahunt nec quicquam proficiunt.

934 'How comes it about that...' cf. §§ 53 i, iv, 59.

945–6 The sense of these two lines is obscure and *cuchetref* < **colloca trabem* is apparently not known elsewhere. I am inclined to think it is the awning referred to in line 874 footnote. The meaning would appear to be that the ship was no more like a ship than a 'cuchetref' is like a house. Cf. § 59.

vv. 951–98. Fessi ergo considunt, peccata plangunt, vota vovent, emendationem vite Deo et sancte Osgithe omnes flebili voce promittunt. Interea isdem homo de quo superius mentionem fecimus in medium prostitit, se graviter peccasse dixit et marmor quod abstulit omnibus ostendit.

961 Corr. *compaignon.*

962 Corr. *son non*, cf. § 43 iii.

De ses mesfez de ces pechez.
A tant s'est drescé sur [ses] piez
Ky enporta le marbre issi.
'Seigniurs,' ceo dist, 'pur Deu merci
'Endreit mei voil primes parler
'Le men mesfet ne voil celer,
'Si mesfet deit estre nomé.
'Ceo k'en mon quer ay recordé
'Poy de chose est, me[s] nekedent
'Dirray le vus tut erranment.
'A seinte Osith estoie aléz
'Ou autre compaignons asez,
'En son muster u jeo entray,
'Un marbre petit i trovay,
'Si l'enportay par aventure
'Par geu le fis e enveisure,
'Ci l'ay porté, ici l'ay mys
'N'enquer celer ceo ke en fis,
'Or vus en ay le veir gey
'Beaus compaignuns pur veir vus di,
'Si de ceo ay vers vus mespris,
'Faire en voudray tut vostre avis.'
Quant l'unt oï funt [mut] grant bruit
A une voiz s'escrient tuit:
'A Dampnedeu graces rendum,
'Kant tant enquis suvaus avum
142 r° b 'Or n'i ad en for retorner
'Le marbre ou nus volum porter,
'A seinte Osith tut dreit alum,
'E Deu e ly merci crium,
'Rendum le marbre a son muster,
'Mut covient iluc Deu prier
'K'il nus pardoint icel peché
'Ke mes ne seum travaillié,
'Cum nus avum esté devant,
'Kar ci sumes trop sujurnant.'
Sicum unt dit issi le funt,
Issent de nef e si s'en vunt;
A seinte Osith sunt dreit alé;
Kant en muster furent entré,
Sachez ne sunt unkes restu,
Dekes al auter sunt dreit venu,
A genouilliuns iluec cuché,
Crient merci de lur peché,
Le marbre i unt offert e mis
E Dampnedeu sovent requis
E seinte Osith sa chere amie
Mes ne seient en tel baillie,
Ne travaillié ne malmené
En havene u tant unt demoré;
E communaument voé unt
Ke checun, tant cum viverunt,
Lour offrende ferunt porter
A seinte Osith e presenter,
Ke Dampnedeu omnipotent
A aler lur doint sauvement.
Al pople k'il unt iluec trové
Cum lur avint unt cunté,
Pernunt congé e si s'en vunt,
142 r° a E en lur nef puis entré sunt,
Levent sigle hastivement;
Si tost cum i feri le vent,
La nef se torne a tel randon,
Come colum devant faucon,
Deu fist iluec [tres] grant vertu
E miracle tres bien seu,
Kar cil s'en vunt par cele mer,
E poesté unt de sigler
Les nefs ke peca sunt aléez
E loin en mer avant passéez,
Cil ki tant esteient ariere,
Ne sai coment n'en quel manere
Fors cum Deu le vout en maesté,
Lour compaignons unt ja passé;
Errent e vunt siglant afort,
A tant vienent plus tost a port;
E les autres passent de tant
Cum ariere esteient devant.
N'at cil saciez k'il n'eit oy,

986 The scribe writes now *erranment* and now *erraument*. I have chosen the former orthography in each case.

vv. 999–1032 Quod etiam omnium hortatum ad ecclesiam referre festinavit. Navis vero interim quasi hominem [122 v° a] expectans Dei jussu ibidem donec ille rediit immobilis permansit.

1033 Cf. § 66.

1034 Cf. § 64.

vv. 1033–54 Que[m] redeuntem recipiens velut a vinculis soluta prosilivit et post precedentes ocior volucre advolat. Et licet a conspectu illius alie jam longe abierint, hec tamen citius omnibus portum desideratum ingressa est. Ex quibus postmodum quidam in Anglia reversi coram altari sancte Osgithe omnibus qui aderant ista subtiliter sicut gesta fuerant narraverunt et quod ille vir per quem hec acciderant Antwerpensis [gloss in a beautiful xiii century hand: *Andwerpia villa est in Brabantia et portus maris*] natione et Theobaldus nominatus sit fideliter intimaverunt. Pro quibus omnibus Deum laudemus ipsamque virginem humili prece deposcamus ut nobis peccatoribus apud Deum nostrum Jhesum Christum subvenire dignetur qui vivit et regnat cum Deo patre in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus per omnia seculorum secula, Amen. Explicit vita vel passio beate Osgithe virginis.

1049 Cf. § 53 x.

1051 This should perhaps be written *au fort*, common in the meaning *enfin*.

Coment la nef siglat issy,
Ke mut ne seit esmerveillié,
Kant enquis unt e cerché
E entendunt la verur,
Mercient Deu le creatur,
E seinte Osith la gloriuse,
Martir e virgine preciuse,
Pur ki Deu fist si grant vertu
Ke apertement le unt veu.

Autre miracle apres orrez
De seinte Osith si l'entendez.
Une femme contraite esteit
Vers Hereford de Wales dreit,
142 v° b Ke ne poeit en nule baillie
De li mover sanz aïe,
Des membres ne se poeit ayder,
Ne al lever ne al cucher,
De ses membres tut dis estoit
En grant anguisse e grant desdroit,
Asez ala par Engleterre,
A oreisuns les seinz requere,
Par tut u ele oï aveit
Ke Dampnedeu vertu feseit,
Ne puet uncore estre oie
Kar Dampnedeu ne voleit mie.
Kant alé tant aveit par tut
Ke ses amis esteient mut
De li partir ja travaillié,
E au derein mut ennuié.
Ne saveit mes a requere,
Seint ne seinte en Engleterre,
U ne aient ja fet venir
Fors seint Edmund le bon martir.
La chaitive fu (mut) anguissuse,
E de garrir mut desiruse,
Tant ad prié, tant ad requis,
E ses parenz e ses amis;
A grant peine granté li unt
De li porter a seint Edmund.
Sa suer par non ke mut l'ama
E par terre tant la mena,
Ore a derein tut ensement
Icest labur pur li enprent.
Si l'aturnast a meuz ke poeit
Vers seint Edmund s'en vunt tut dreit.
Tant errunt petites jurnées,
143 r° a Cum furent bien acustumées,
Ke nequedent a chief de tur,
Le seurveillie devant le jur
Seint Michel venues i sunt
E la contraite porté unt
A grant travail dekes al muster
Pur faire la iluec veillier.
Mes kant vint tut dreit al vesper
Li secrestains la fait oster,
E estrussé li ad mut bien,
Suffrir ne vout pur nule rien
K'ele la nuit seit al muster,
Ne pur orer ne pur veillier,
Oster la fist demeintenant
E cele en fet doil mut grant.
Quant de l'eglise esteit ostée
A ceus a dit ki l'unt portée:
'Pur Deu amur merci vus cri,
'Ne me portez [tres] loinz de ci,
'Metez mei ci dehors cest us
'Lessez mei iluec, ne vus quer us.'
E cil refunt tut autre tel
E puis se vunt a lur ostel.
Tute la nuit iluec remaint
La contraite ke mut se plaint,
E crie Dampnedeu merci
E seint Edmund tut autresi,
Ke puisse aver amendement
De mal ke la tient forment.
A meuz ke sout vers Deu orat,
Tute la nuit iluec veilliat,
E pres del us s'est ajustée,
Tut dreit cum vint en l'ajurnée
143 r° b La cheitive ke tant i crie
Un petitet s'est endormie.
De hors cel us u ele jut
Un hom en blanc li aparut:
'Diva,' ceo dit, 'ki es tu ci
'Ke tute nuit me cries si
'Ke demandez, ke vus aveir?'
Cele li dist: 'sire pur veir,
'A Dampnedeu jeo vinc ici
'A seint Edmund tut autresi,
'Ke jeo requer pur son [seint] non,
'Ke il m'envoie guarison.
'Mut ay par Engleterre erré
'E[n] oreisuns pur ma sancté,

1058 Corr. *encherché* as in l. 794.
1059 The tense and form may be original (cf. § 55 i) but it seems a scribe's error for *entendu unt*; cf. l. 1270.
1069 Omit *Ke*.
1070 Both here and at l. 1176 *nule* (*nul*) may have been omitted.
1074 This would appear to be a scribe's error for *destreit*. Cf. Marie de France: *La dame conut bien le pleit. Mult est sis quers en grant destreit* [*Guigemar*, 801–2] but the word may have existed.
1085 *Requere* has no object in the phrase, *qui* may be inserted.
1099 Corr. *si l'aturne*? Cf. l. 1131. 1108 Cf. § 48.
1116 Cf. § on Hiatus. 1130 Corr. *de cel mal.* 1141 *Vus* (<*voles*). Cf. § 25.

'Mes ne oi pas dekes a cest jur,
'Ci sui venue a chief de tur.'
Il li respunt demeintenant
'Uncor t'estuet aler avant;
'Kar Deu n'ad pas purveu issi
'Ke guarisun eies ici.
'A seinte Osith t'estuet aler,
'Iluec veillier, iluec orer,
'Kar Dampnedeu t'ad destiné
'En icel liu aver sancté.'
'Sire merci,' fet la contraite,
'Icest respons trop mei desheite,
'Kar chier sire, ceo sachiez bien,
'De seinte Osith ne say jeo rien,
'Ne sai u est ne en quel terre,
'[Ne] seinte Osith ne say u quere,
'Unk mes de li n'oy parler
'E si resui lasse d'errer,
'E cil ke tant porté[e] m'unt
143 v° a 'De mei porter ennuié sunt.
'Avant de ci, bien sai en fin,
'Voie ne sevent ne chemin'
Cil li respont: 'si demandez
'A gent ke ci demain verrez,
'Aucun troverez en cest entrée
'Ke vus enseignera la veie;
'Iluec guarrez cum vus ay dit
'Puis en alez sanz respit.'
E cele li dist: 'sire merci
'Ki estes vus que parlez ci?'
E il respunt mut humblement:
'Seint Edmund me nomment la gent.'
La contraite mut en pensa,
Puis l'endemein quant gent trova
K'esteient a cel us entrant,
Si lur demande demeintenant
Ver seinte Osith la dreite veie,
Ke pur Deu seit asenseie,
Tant a enquis e demandé
Le dreit chemin li unt mustré,
Tant ad parlé a ses amis
Ke il ja sunt en chemin mys;
Vers seinte Osith la funt porter
Vint jurs i mistrent al aler,
E travaillient se a merveillie
Ke venu(e) i sunt dreit la veillie
De seinte Osith kant est la feire
Funt la contraite al muster trere,
Dreit a hore porter la funt
Kant li chanoine a vespres sunt,
A ceo k'esteient haut chantant

Cil vierent ci demeintenant,
143 v° b Ke la cheitive unt portée
E einz al muster avalée
Puis [en] vunt al us del chancel,
Acenent les seigniurs mut bel,
K'il unt plus pres del us trové,
Requis li unt pur l'amur Dé
Ke la contraite k'unt portée,
A seinte Osith si longe veie,
K'a sa fertre l'osent porter,
Ke tote nuit en puisse orer;
Ele est a seinte Osith par non
Venue par avision.
Tant unt requis, tant unt parlé
Ke li seigniur li unt granté;
La contraite est remuée
E a la fertre amunt portée.
Sa suer ke l'ad portée tant
En haut se crie maintenant
'Ma dame seinte Osith merci,
'De ma suer ke vus porte ci,
'Pur ki me sui tant travaillie,
'E sufferte ay mainte haschie;
'Portée l'ai e sus e jus
'Tant sui lasse ke ne puis plus
'Or la vus ay ci fet porter,
'Avant de ci ne say aler,
'S'ici ne puet estre amendée
'Ja n'iert pur mei avant portée.'
E sa suer l'ad iluec lessée
Devant la fiertre dreit cuchée,
E cele remaint la nuit issi,
E seinte Osith [alsi] par non
144 r° a Ke li trameste garison.
Puis unt a matines soné,
Li chanoine sunt assemblé
Lur matines vunt comencant
E mut a tant les vunt chantant
Cum a tel feste estoit raisun;
Kant vint a la sime lescun
La contraite geta un cri,
E pleint e gient e plure si
Ke nui[ent] estoit escuter;
Um la (co)manda assez cesser
Ke ne desturbast le servise
Mes ele ne pout en nule guise
Al comandement garde prendre,
Kar ailliurs aveit a entendre;
Ne put son cri amesurer
Le sime respons vunt chanter
Regnum mundi li ordiné,

1174 Cf. § 15.
1177 Cf. § 5 B II.
1201, 1215 Cf. § on hiatus.
1231 Cf. § 5 B II.
1176 Cf. l. 1070.
1186 Corr. *K'ele....*
1220 Corr. *serur...port.* Cf. §§ 43 iv., 54 i.
1240 Cf. l. 1250.
1243 The usual form is *nient* (cf. § 18 and line 1392), we take *nuient* as an Agn. form for *noiant*, a variant of *nient*.

Tut dreit cum sunt en vers entré,
La contreite s'escrie tant,
Les nerfs li vunt tut crus[i]sant,
Deu reclaime omnipotent
E seinte Osith tut ensement;
Kant longes estoit travaillie
Sur piez se est a dreit drescie,
E ver le auter veit tut dreit,
E loe Deu a grant espleit,
E seinte Osith sa chiere amie,
Par ki sa preiere est oïe.
A chanoines cuntat e dit,
La grant vertu ke Deu li fit,
Tut par ordre lur ad cunté,
Coment par terre aveit erré,
144 r°b Coment aveit ailliurs failli,
Com[ent] Deu l'ad [a]dresciée ci.
Kant li chanoine e li seigniur
Entendu unt bien la verrur,
Tut loent Deu omnipotent,
E comencent mut hautement
Te Deum laudamus par tut;
Par cel muster demandent mut
Quel noise seit ke la munt funt;
Tut a un frus curru i sunt
Deu comencent mut a loer,
E funt les seins par tut soner,
Kant la contreite bien entent
Ke guarie est finement,
E mes ne sent de ses dolurs,
Venue est devant les seigniurs,
E si lur dit; 'seigniurs merci,
'Dampnedeu m'ad guarrie ci
'E seinte Osith (la) vostre avoée,
'L'amie Deu verraie esprovée,
'Mut aim cest liu e mut l'ai cher
'U Deu m'ad si fet adrecer,
'Si pur Deu me voilliez tenir,
'Ja nul jur ne voudrai partir,
'En icest liu finablement,
'A Deu e seinte Osith me rent.'
E li seigniur pur l'amur Dé
Ke ele remaine unt gr[a]anté.
Cele est remise e mut se peine
Trestuz les jurs de la semeine,
A plus k'ele puet travaillier
Entur l'uveraine del muster;
Penible est en mu[t] de manere,
144 v°a Nomeement de trere piere,
E el k'ele puet a cele eglise,
Longes remaint en cel servise.
Mes deables est mut enginius,
E de tut biens trop envius,
Kant Deu a fet ses granz vertuz,
E ses miracles bien veuz,
Pur seinte eglise enluminer
E ses amis reconforter;
Peise deable estrangement
E se efforce peniblement
D'esteindre ceo pur verité
Ke Deu ad si enluminé.
Dieble n'ad unkes envie,
Ne de peché ne de folie,
De mesfet ne de traisun,
N'ad envie si de bien nun.
La vertu k'est par Deu venue
Mut vot turner en fanfelue,
Pur fere mescrere la gent
E ci si fist tut ensement.
Un lur vassal de la maisun,
Godwine l'esquieler par nun,
Tant ad forment dieble enticé
Empeint a fere malvesté,
Ke a la femme s'est ajusté
Tant a requis, tant a parlé
Ke il sunt tut a un voleir
De fere la folur pur veir;
Kar nature est bien le savez
Ke femme est frele chose assez
Tost ad le quer asis en glu,
Tost ad un mal conseil creu,
144 v°b Tost ad lessié [la] dreite veie,
Tost est en la folur entrée,
Tost ad lessé bien e honur,
Tost se prent a la folur.
Ceste tut ensement le fist,
Lessa le bien e le mal prist,
A lur folie unt liu trové,
La nuit kant furent asemblé
En lit trestut primerement
E li fous out fet sun talent,
Seinte Osith pas ne vot suffrir
Cest overaine endormir
Ne voleit pas pur verite,
Iceo mesfet estre celé;
L'un pié de la cheitive prent
Sur l'autre dreit en croiz l'estent,
Si forment l'ad iloukes mis,

1254 Since *s* = *ss*, cf. § 33, an *i* could easily be omitted, cf. § 59.
1255 Cf. § on hiatus.
1275 The woman had been carried up to the shrine, l. 1216.
1278 *Seins* (< *sanctus*) is frequent in Ofr. in the sense of *bell*, especially to call people together; cf. s.v. *sein* 2: Godefroy, vii, 365 c.
1280 Corr. *finablement* as in ll. 974, 1291.
1318 Cf. § 59.
1322 This form is quoted by Godefroy under *escueillier* the scullery, and also as here a sculleryman. Cf. § 59.
1324 *Empeint* = urges.
1336 The sense demands *E tost*.

Cuché e joint e ferme asis,
Ne puet de luec plus estre ostez
Ke s'il de clous i fust fermez.
Kant la cheitive iceo entent,
Plure des oilz e gient forment,
E grant dolur comence a faire,
Ne puet l'un pié de l'autre trere.
Li pautener quant l'entendi,
Mut s'esmaie tut autresi,
E par matin est tost levé
E as seigniurs tut dreit alé
As piez lur chiet si lur ad dit:
'Seigniurs entendez un petit,
'Pur nient le vus irrai celant,
'Assez le saverez en avant,
'Meuz le vus voil dire en secrei
145 r° a 'K'autre le vus die de mei;
'Tut ay en tel manere overé,
'Contre raisun e contre Dé,
'E avenu est tut issi
'Pur Deu amur seigniurs merci;
'Trestut issi sui contenu
'Vers Dampnedeu e encorru.'
E li seigniurs demeintenant
La verité vunt enquerant,
L'aventure k'est avenue
Trestut issi est reconue.
A rien ne muntast le celer
Semblant n'i veient demander.
La cheitive ne puet pur veir
Del lit pur nule rien moveir,
Les piez li sunt si traversé
Cum s'il fuissent des clous fermé,
Les seigniurs en sunt anguissus,
Sur tute rien e dolerus,
Al muster vunt [tut] erranment
Requerent Deu communaument,
E seinte Osith lur dame chiere,
K'ele ne souffre en nule manere,
Ke sa ancele seit si baillie,
Ne al siecle si forment hunie.
Requis unt ententivement
Mes tut iceo ne lur est nient.
Kar n'amende en nule manere,
Pur oreison ne pur priere;
Contreite i vint premerement
E contreite rest ensement.
Mut longement remaint issi,
Tote contreite cum vus di,
145 r° b Dekes li pauteners morut
K'en tel manere la decut;
Deu fist iluec mut grant vertu
Miracle apert e bien veu,
Le jur ke il fu deviez
E par la mort del siecle alez,
La nuit apres [tut] erranment
Vint seinte Osith verrayement
E la chaitive deliat,
De tut en tut la deliverat,
Les piez li ad desseelez,
E quitement desencumbrez;
E cele est par matin levée
E al muster tut dreit alée,
E loe Deu omnipotent,
E seinte Osith tut ensement.
Tut dis remaint en la maisun
E sert ou grant devotiun.

Assez avum oy sovent
Par reprover dire la gent
Ke d'estriver contre aguilion
N'avient a nuli si mal non.
Prendre en poum example assez
D'un miracle ke ici orrez
Ke Deu pur seinte Osith mustra
Ki garde en prent, bor le verra.
Kar bel se repent de sa folie
Ke par autre se chastie,
E cil d'assez trop tart se repent
Sur ky le flael Deu decent;
Kar Dampnedeus est mut suffrant,
E lungement vait deportant,
Mes puis quant il fert au derein
145 v° a Sachez k'il ad mut dure mein;
E il refist tut autresi,
Seigniurs cum vus orrez ici;
De le eveske Ricard (essample) dirum
De ceo dunt vus tuché avum,
Le tiers a Londres se aveit,
Puis cil ke l'abbeie de Chich fundeit,
E a seinte Osith chanoines mist,
Teres e rentes aset i conquist,
A cist Ricard le ben ne plout
Ke son ancestre a liu fet out.
Un jur avint ke fist mander
Ses menestraus e assembler
Ke soleient ses plais tenir,
E danz Williame avant venir
Son seneschal i fist par non,
De Wokindone aveit surnon,
E en ki se fieit mut enfin
Ou un Nichole e Rad'patin;
A Dakintone (co)manda aler

1385 Here and at l. 1405 corr. [*tut*] as in l. 1610. 1403 Cf. § 17.
1405 Cf. footnote to l. 1385. 1425, 1427 Omit *se*, § 48 A.
1438 For *fundeit* cf. § 55 iv, for a comment on this line cf. § 71.
1450 The apostrophe is in the MS.
1451 The sense seems to be: to forbid the ecclesiastics (cf. ll. 1439–40) to have possessions at Chich and to take all the profits for his own use.

De luec oveskaus pur veer
Ke a Chic [ne] deusent poseer;
E a son eus tut apruer.
E cil s'en vunt a grant espleit,
A Dakintone vienent tut dreit,
Iluec tienent a fort estur
Les plais l'eveske lur seigniur;
En icel tens ke cil veneient
A Chic chanoines mis esteient,
Ke Deu serveient humblement
E seinte Osith tut ensement;
De terre aveient environ
Dunt pussent vivre a fuison,
145 v° b Estre l'aport de lur autel
K'il aveient qui d'un qui d'el
Deu serveient en leauté
E furent de grant charité.
Le seneschal a Dakintone vint
Les pleiz l'eveske forment tint,
D'iluec purveit queus enverreit
A Chich kar ces fors mettreit
Ki par les chanoines mis est[e]ient;
Oveskeus mestreit ke dureient
A li acuntes; l'esveske out voil
Kanoines oster de cel soil;
Ne voleient en nule manere
Oir requeste ne preiere,
N'entains suffrir hum[e] parler
Ne terme ne respit doner;
Mes si cum lur est comandé
Issi en ad del tut overé.
Quant les chanoines l'unt entendu,
Mut sunt dolent e irascu,
A Deu s'en vunt pleindre errannment,
E a lur dame tut ensement
Seinte Osith ke unt servi tant,
Ke del surfet seit eus vengant.
K'ele deust bien a lur avis
Defendre les de lur enemis,
A sa fiertre vienent errant,
L'ymage ostent tres estant,
Hors l'us l'eglise l'unt posé
Cume pur prendre son cungé.
Le fiertre covrent d'une here,
Ceo signe ke de joie volent trere,
Ne volent (seinte) Osith plus loer
146 r° a Kar par semblant le liu n'ad cher,
Ou lermes e ou plaintes funt
Asez saver ke il au quer unt,
[E] seinte Osith vunt chalengant
K'en cest surfet est si suffrant.
Seinte Osith pas lunges n'endure,
Bien li sovient de (sa) leidengure
Suffrir ne vout pur nule rien,
Ke vengée ne seit mut bien,
E de celui nomeement
K'(a) achesun fu premerement,
Fonteine e surse e chief par non
De faire icele envasion,
Kar ceo fu l'eveske Ricard,
Venu i sunt cil de sa part
Ke lur terres unt envasé
E lur serganz unt hors buté,
Miracle avint ici mut grant
Cum les chanoines vunt plainant,
L'ymage en fiertre unt envili
Cum vus avez devant oï,
Meïsme le hore fu notée
De plus sages de la contrée,
Un mal par tut le cors susprent
Ricard l'eveske horriblement
Sudain e laid de grant baillie
Ke nomé est paralisie,
Ne puet ve[ei]r ne puet sentir,
.....
Ne puet conustre hume pur veir,
Ne il ne se peut del liu mover.
Saillient si hume, si sergant,
Entre lur braz le vunt portant,
Plurent ou mut horible cri,
146 r° b 'Sire:' funt il, 'pur Deu merci,
'Parlez a nus, cheles k'avez,
'Vus fustes sein oreinz asez.'
Asez le vunt aresonant,
Mes ne respont ne tant ne quant,
Ne saveit en quel siecle fu,
Tut l'unt pur mort iluec tenu,
Tut issi jut deske (le) mardi,
De ci ke vint al vendredi,
Ne treit a sei ne main ne pié,
Les seens sunt mut desconseillié,
Par cele sale vunt pleinant,

1453 Cf. § 53, III, ii.

1469–76 'The seneschal came to Dakinton...and here considered whom he should send to Chich for he would drive those out who were put there by the canons; ecclesiastics he would put there who would give him accounts; the bishop had the intention of taking the canons from that seat.'

1474 MS. *ou veskes eus.*

1475 Cf. § 20.

1483 Corr. *li chanoine unt....*

1492 The MS. is not very plain here; I am uncertain whether to read *tres*[*tut*] *estant* or to correct *tut en estant*, since it is not clear whether 'on its feet' or 'immediately' is the real meaning.

1493 Cf. § 17.

1496 Cf. § 53 I, III A (the *ke* should be omitted).

1542 For *mut* cf. l. 1515.

En la chambre funt doel [mut] grant,
Kar al quer unt grant desconfort,
Ne sevent s'il est vif ou mort.
A tant es(te) vus repairé sunt
Ke seinte Osith deseisie unt;
La novele mut esturmie
De lur seigniur unt ja oïe.
Li seneschals vien(en)t au seigniur,
K'il vei(en)t suspris de grant dolur,
Williame ke ja est repairez
De la u il fu enveiez.
'Sire, fet il, pur Deu merci,
'Un poy ver moy entendez ci,
'Si de memoire rien avez,
'U nul home entendre poez,
'E raison de clerc u de lay,
'Dunc entendez ke vus diray.
'Beau sire cher, tres bien savez
'Vers Dampnedeu mespris avez.
'Vers seinte Osith nomeement
'Ke nus avum si folement
'Ja desaisie de sa terre;
'Empris avum mut fole guerre;
'Quei k'en apres seit fet de nus
'La peine chiet primes sur vus.
'Kar par autre oy avum,
'E par nus mesmes le savum,
'A seinte Osith ne peut hom rien
'Mesfaire, ja ceo sachez bien,
'K'ele n'enprenge tel vengement
'Ke bien parra finablement,
'E ore l'avez pur verité,
'Par vus me[i]smes esprové,
'Pur Deu tant cum vus poez,
'Sovaus de quer vus repentez,
'Kant est issi ke n'avez mye,
'Force de lange ne de baillie,
'De quer criez a Deu merci
'E a seinte Osith (tut) autresi;
'E voez li sa terre rendre
'Si ja vousist vers vus entendre;
'E Dampnedeu merci crier
'Pur vus de cest mal deslier.
'Pur Deu sire, car en pensez
'Bien le veum mester avez,
'Pensez de ceo ke vus ay dit,
'Pur sa ducur Deus i aït.'
A ceo ke il ad parlé si,
Li eveske puis s'esperi,
Ke aveit longement geu,
E sanz vigur e sanz verteu;
Al seneschal k'ad si parlé
E de son bien amonesté,
De la main destre vereiement,
Le dei ou tut l'anel li tent,
Kar solunc ceo k'out en corage
L'anel li tent e lui degage;
E cil li tret l'anel del dei
E si li dit: 'beau sire or vei
'Ke cest gage enveer volez,
'A Deu vers ki mespris avez
'A seinte Osith nomeement,
'Pur li requere acordement,
'E as seigniurs de son muster
'Ke desaise avum autre ier.
'Ore n'i ad en quant cest entent,
'Jeo m'en irray tut erranment.'
Li seneschal est ja muntez,
(E) a seinte Osith tut dreit alez,
Veint a muster, fet apeller,
E les seigniurs trestuz mander,
Sur l'autel ad [tut] en apert
En l[e]i de gage l'anel offert,
Crié merci a tut entur
De par l'eveske son seigniur
E lur terre tut quitement
E as chanoines tantost rent
E (si) requert tuz les assemblez
Ke le maufait seit pardonez.
Meisme l'oure k'est venuz
A seinte Osith receuz
Pur le mesfait fere adrecier
Dunt est venu tel encombrer,
Bien unt noté, bien entendu
E de plusurs est retenu,
K'a l'eveske demeintenant
La u esteit [com] mort gisant
Este vos l'oïe e la vue
E la parole ja rendue,
Meismes en point e l'ure dreit
Ke li gage[s] offert esteit
Gariz esteit si come si,
Mes nequedent pur veir vus di,
Unk(es) puis sur piez n'estoit allant,
Ne pout estre pur rien estant
Mes hum li fist une chaere,
Aturné[e] en tele manere,
Ke ileukes fist quant fut errant,

1547 *Es, est, este, estes* seem all to be used, together with an inserted *le*, according to the exigences of verse. Cf. l. 905.

1551 The copyist appears to have taken *li seneschals* for a plural.

1576 Cf. l. 1623 and § 64.

1624 Something is wanting to complete the sense; *e fu* might be inserted; the scansion of past participles with feminine *e* is not fixed. Cf. § 5. It seems quite likely that the words should be *tuz recreuz*.

1631 I can only read the initial *E* and following *s* and also what appears to be a *v*.

Tant cum en munde fu conversant.
Le merc tut dis bien li parut
Ke il en tel mal issi recut,
Il puet ve[ei]r, il puet parler,
Mes sur [ses] piez nul pas aler
Dekes a sa fin verraiment,
Ne li estuit nul autrement,
La chaere u fu portez,
E par la terre tant menez,
Esteit si cume fu furmée,
A seint Pol de Londres portée.
Iluec remis est a tut dis
Bien le sevent cil del païs,
E cil ki iluec unt esté
Si enquis unt la verité.
Seigniurs, freres, pur ceo vus di,
Ke cest(e) example avez oï ;
Ne fet a Deu pas tel juer
Cum a veisin ne cum a per.
Quant contre li pechent la gent,
Il est mut suffrant longement,
Mes tut seez de ceo seur,
147 r° b Ke quant il fiert il fiert dur.
Bien resavum la verité
Seinte Osith ad grant pousté
Ke Dampnedeu li ad doné,
Asez veu et bien mustré
De sey venger e de ses enemis
Ke li mesfunt en son pais,
E pousté read ensement,
De mut valer a tute gent,
Ke Deu voudrunt e li servir,
Mut bien purrat trestut merir
Quanque hum frat pur li de bien,
Ne puet estre perdeu pur rien.
Ele est la sus en cel pais
U Deu ad mis ses chers amis,
Ne puet buche de hume parler,
Oreile oir ne quer penser,
Ne oil ve[ei]r en nule manere
Cum la joie est iluec pleniere.
A tuz ceus qui Deu amerunt,
E de bon quer le servirunt,
Seinte Osith nus seit en aye
Tant cum sumes en ceste vie,
Ke tant i puissum bien overer
E de peché nos cors garder,
Ke puissum au jur de la fin
Vers Deu tenir le dreit chemin,
E meindre ou ses chers amys
Ke unt la joie de parais ;
[E] vers nus doint sa majesté
Ke maint uns Deus en trinité.
Amen.

1642 Corr. *mund* as in l. 40.
1664 Corr. *mut dur*. Cf. l. 1432.
1669 The sense demands the correction *des enemis*.
1674 Cf. § 59.

A. T. Baker.

Sheffield.

JOHANNES DES WISEN 'MARIENLOB.'

Das hier abgedruckte Gedicht ist im Ms. allemand Nr 117 der Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris überliefert. Meinem verehrten Lehrer, Professor R. Priebsch, der mir während der ganzen Zeit meiner Studien in London freundlichst zur Seite stand, verdanke ich auch die Anregung zu dieser kleinen Untersuchung. Er hat eine eingehende Beschreibung der reichhaltigen Hs. an das Archiv der deutschen Kommission der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften eingesandt, aus der ich mich begnüge das wesentlichste hier herauszuheben. Es ist eine Papierhs. des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts, vielleicht noch der ersten Hälfte desselben. Die Blatthöhe beträgt 29·10 cm., die Breite 20·7 cm. Die Blätteranzahl beträgt nach moderner Zählung 280. Abgesehen von dem Register bll 217 a—218 b ist die ganze Hs. geistlich-didaktischer Dichtungen und Prosastücke von einem Heinricus Schan geschrieben. Sie war früher im Besitz des Pastors Jakob Oberlin († 1806).

Der Text des Marienlobs beginnt Mitte 204 b und schliesst Anfang 207 a. Die Schrift ist sehr deutlich, nur a und o, e und i lassen sich nicht immer leicht unterscheiden. Die Abkürzungen bieten nichts aussergewöhnliches.

Folgende Charakteristika weisen in ihrer Gesammtheit auf einen elsässischen Schreiber:

ę (älterer Umlaut des a) > ö: mönscheit, mönschlicher, mónsche. Cf. Weinhold, *Alemannische Grammatik*, § 117; Haendcke, *Die mundartlichen Elemente in den elsässischen Urkunden des Strassburger Urkundenbuchs*, Strassburg, 1894, § 4 c; Euling, *Jakobsbrüder*, S. 14.

i > ú: nút, búz. Cf. Weinhold, a.a.O., § 119. Nach Haendcke, § 6 c, bezeichnet diese Schreibung den i-laut, in dem i und ü zusammengefallen waren. Cf. Euling, a.a.O., S. 14.

â > ô: on, one, do, nohe, kemenotte, hât, enphohen, hon, stot, roten, mon, lo: vom vierzehnten Jh. an häufig, aber in unserem Texte nicht durchweg (z. B. hat, getatent). Cf. Weinhold, a.a.O., § 44, 124; Haendcke, § 2 b; Euling, S. 14.

Umlaut des â = e: lege, phlege, bete, stete. Cf. Weinhold, § 121; Haendcke, § 3 a.

Umlaut des uo = ú: früge, grússe, sússer, músse. Cf. Haendcke, § 18 b.

iu (aus westgermanischen eu) > u, ú: kúsche, enbúte (= enbiut 3. pers. sg.), sú, rúwe, getrúwe. Cf. Haendcke, § 13 b.

ęwi > ǒi: frǒide. Cf. Weinhold.

Germanisches d = d, t im Anlaut: dete, dodez; treffen, treit: cf. Paul, *Mhd. Gram.*, S. 49; Haendcke, § 43; Weinhold (*Mhd. Gram.*, § 126).

j als g geschrieben: Gesse, früge. Haendcke, § 48.

In der Flexion -t 1. pl. pres.: wellent. Cf. Weinhold, § 342; Haendcke, § 54.

-t 1. pl. pret.: getatent.

-t 3. pl. pret.: soltent.

u-form: kumen (part. pret.). Cf. Haendcke, § 55.

conj. pret.: hette. Cf. Paul, § 173; Haendcke, § 59.

gibit > gît. Cf. Haendcke, § 54.

Die Reinheit der Reime macht es schwer, die Heimat des Dichters zu bestimmen; aus folgenden Erscheinungen können wir immerhin den Wahrscheinlichkeitsschluss ziehen, dass er dem alemannischen (mit Ausschluss des schwäbischen) oder südfränkischen Gebiet angehört.

21 f. kam: nam. Cf. Paul, *Mhd. Gram.*, § 161 Anm. 2: Zwierzina, *Z. f. d. A.*, 44, S. 87.

67 f. undertan: ergan. Cf. Zwierzina, *Festgabe für Heinzel*, S. 467.

5 f. maget: saget. 29 f. maget: gesaget. 83 f. seit: treit. 105 f. versaget: maget. 111 f. geseit: geleit. Vgl. Zwierzina, *Z. f. d. A.*, 44, 345 ff. Bemerkenswert ist 87 f. der Reim spiegelglas: saz.

Als Dichter unseres Marienlobes nennt sich v. 118 'Johannes der wise,' von dem wir leider ausser dem Namen nichts wissen; seine Zugehörigkeit zum geistlichen Stande ist wahrscheinlich. Als sein literarisches Vorbild wird Konrad von Würzburg zu betrachten sein. Die Reinheit der Sprache und der Versbau (cf. unten) zeigen, dass der Verfasser nicht sehr lange nach ihm gelebt haben und auch hierin von ihm als bewundertem Vorbild wird beeinflusst worden sein. (Cf. die Marienbilder in den Anmerkungen und solche Stileigentümlichkeiten wie gepaarte Ausdrücke: vgl. 58. 78 helfe unde rat; 63. 106 muoter unde maget; 83 das traditionelle 'singet unde seit'; 98 tuot unde lât; 113 geahten, bedenken oder betrahten; substant. Umschreibungen: vgl. 54 todes zil., 59 gewaltes ere.)

Die Verse sind fast durchaus regelmässig gebaut, d. h. vierhebig mit stumpfem, dreihebig mit klingendem Ausgang. Nur in zwei Fällen, 63 f. und 117 f., dürften wir vierhebige Reimpaare mit klingendem Ausgang anzunehmen haben. Der Auftakt fehlt häufiger als bei Konrad; auf 118 Verse kommen 20 Fälle: v. 2, 7, 9, 10, 17, 18, 22, 26, 31, 46, 51, 54, 56, 61, 64, 66, 97, 98, 116 (?), 117.

Zweisilbiger Auftakt scheint vorzuliegen in v. 28, 29, 34, 45, 47, 49, 72, 93, 107, 113, 115, 118.

Beschwerte Hebung[1] findet sich

(*a*) Nach der ersten Hebung. 13 in Aárònes hénde (oder ′ × ˋ × ′ × ?). 18 ist níemàn (Emphase).

(*b*) Nach der zweiten Hebung. 2 vólbrìngen. 71 in der Pause: Gót sìu do (wenn do nicht zu streichen ist).

(*c*) Nach der dritten Hebung. 47 tréhtìn.

Versetzte Betonung in der ersten Hebung findet sich: v. 19 anè; 42. 67 gernè; 48. 110 marià.

Verschleifung auf der Hebung kommt vor:

(*a*) Auf der ersten: 58 gebe mir; 74 himel und; 109 bete müez.

(*b*) Auf der zweiten: lobes an; 114 oder betrahten.

52 jehent [an...], wenn die Konjektur richtig ist.

Zweisilbige Senkung kommt vor: 93 solten dich (l. suln?) und 118 máhte Johánnes der wise (Eigenname und Schlusszeile).

Hiatus liegt wohl vor in v. 43, 58, 78, 80.

v. 39, 40 findet sich der identische Reim dich: dich; v. 31, 32 der erweiterte ruochete: suochete. Von den Reimen sind 49·5 % klingend—ein bedeutend höherer Prozentsatz als bei Konrad von Würzburg (44 %), was ebenfalls für das hohe Alter der kleinen Dichtung spricht (vgl. Kochendörffer, *Z.f.d.A.*, 35, 290).

Zum Abdruck wäre noch zu bemerken: ich habe versucht, dem Gedichte das ältere Gewand, das ihm nach den Reimen und dem Versbau zukommt, zu geben. Orthographische Eigentümlichkeiten wie Verdoppelung des Konsonanten auch nach langem Vokal in uff, stette usw., z für s in reinez, gewaltez usw., die gewöhnlichen Abkürzungen und ebenso dialectische Erscheinungen (s. oben), die dem jüngeren elsässischen Schreiber zugewiesen werden dürfen, habe ich ausgemerzt, ohne die hsl. Formen jedesmal unter dem Texte zu vermerken. Eckige Klammern bezeichnen meine eigene Ergänzung.

[1] Vgl. Jänicke, *Z.f.d.A.*, 16, 402 ff., v. Kraus, *Metrische Untersuchungen über Reinbots Georg*, Kauffmann, *Z.f.d.Ph.*, 36, 552 ff., Brendel, *Der borte* (Diss.), Halle, 1906, 33 ff.

EIN LOP VON UNSER VROUWEN.

Wol müeze mir gelingen,
Möht ich volbringen
Ein lop, daz tete ich gerne.
Vil liehter morgensterne,
Maria, uzerwelte maget,
Von der man groze wunder saget,
Du bist aller sünder trost,
Din reinez kint hat uns erlost
Von der tiefen hellen,
Ob wir selbe wellen;
Du bist diu reine ruote,
Diu also schone bluote
In Aarones hende
Gar ane missewende;
Du bist diu gerte von Jesse,
Diu gwan geliche nie me.
Über allez himelrich
Ist nieman din gelich
Ane din kint aleine,
—Vil kiusche maget reine!—
Daz von dem hohen himel kam
Und von dir die menscheit nam.
Darumb sol man dich prisen.
Du bist daz oblat isen,
Da Got in getrucket wart
Gar nach meneschlicher art.
Wie nahe er dime herzen lac!
Den der himel niht begrifen mac,
Den begrife du, vil süeze maget!
Des si dir iemer lop gesaget,

Überschrift rot. 10 selbe] selber. 12 schone] schön. 13 Aarones] Aarons. 16] diu gewañ glich mere. Konjektur gestützt durch Reinmar von Zweter (Wackernagel, *Kirchenlieder*, II. No. 108, str. 11) du blûmengerte von Jesse, diu nie gewan gelichen me, und Bartsch, *Deutsche Liederdichter*[4], 274, v. 41 f., Meister Sigeher, Du edelin gerte von Jesse der nie niht wart geliches me. 24 oblat isen] oue laut ysen. Über ouelât cf. Grimms *Wb.*, 7, 1109. 29 maget] mag. 30 des] daz. dir iemer] iemer dir.

Daz er selber ruochete
Daz dich der engel suochete
In dinre kemenate;
Da du vruo und spate
An dime gebete lege
Und Gotes hulde phlege,
Da vant er dich aleine,
Vil kiusche maget reine,
Unde sprach: 'Got grüeze dich,
Maria, niht envürhte dich.
Ich bin ze dir gesendet.
Gerne hæte ich volendet
Darumbe ich ze dir bin komen:
Got hat ze muoter dich genomen,
Du solt hie uf diser erden
Gotes muoter werden;
Daz enbiut dir unser trehtin.
Maria, du solt niht trurec sin.'
Ez antwurt im diu maget do,
Siu sprach mit süezer rede also:
'Wie wolt ich ein kint enphan?
Min sinne jehent [an underlan]
Daz ich deheinen man do wil
Biz an mines todes zil,
Wan einen den han ich genomen,
Der ist mir ze herzen komen:
Deist Got, der mich geschaffen hat!
Der gebe mir helfe unde rat
Durch sins gewaltes ere,
So gere ich nihtes mere.'
Gabriel sprach aber do:
'Maria, du solt wesen vro.
Du solt muoter und maget bliben,
Keiserin ob allen wiben.'
Do sprach daz reine megetin:

41, 43 ze] zuo. 42 hæte] hette. hæte nach dem Gebrauch bei Gotfried, Konrad von Würzburg, cf. Zwierzina, *Z.f.d.A.*, 44, 101 ff. 47 enbiut] enbúte. trehtin] rehtin. 51 enphan] enphohen cf. aber Zwierzina, *Z.f.d.A.*, 45, S. 55 über Konrad, Gotfried und die niederal. Dichter. 53] daz ich do keinen man wil. 54 mines] sinez. 55 wan] wanne. 59 sins] sines. 60 gere] gebe wohl durch Einfluss von gebe in 58.

'Gotes dirne wil ich sin.
Gerne bin ich sin undertan,
Sin wille muoz an mir ergan.'
Diu botschaft was ergangen;
Do hat siu enphangen
Den gewaren Got siu do truoc
Den diu jüdischeit ze tode sluoc.
Mit vröuden do siu sin genas,
Der himel und erde herre was
Und iemer ist an ende.
Ez stat in siner hende
Allez daz er beschaffen hat,
Dem gibet er helfe unde rat.
Nu müeze er allen raten,
Die sünde ie getaten,
Daz sie diu sünde riuwe.
Daz helfe uns diu getriuwe,
Von der man singet unde seit
Und aller megede krone treit.
Siu ist ein liehter mane
Gar alles valsches ane,
Siu ist ein luter spiegelglas,
Da Got und mensche inne saz.
La mich der liebe geniezen
Daz sich Got liez besliezen
In dime maget tuome.
Du uzerwelte bluome,
Alle zungen solten dich ruomen.
Kund ich den weg gebluomen
Mit lobe, daz tet ich gerne.
Du bist der schœnste sterne,
Den der himel iergent hat,
Got durch dich tuot unde lat.
Verlich mir ein reinez ende,
So sich diu sele wende
Von mime armen libe,
Deich danne bi dir blibe.
Deist mir und allen sündern guot.

66 dirne] tirne. 72] den uns die juden zů dode slůgent. 73 siu] er.
91 dime] dine. 94 den] fehlt. 95 tet] dete.

Hilf mir durch dines kindes bluot
—Dir wart nie niht versaget—
Vil reine muoter unde maget!
Daz du umb den sünder bete,
Daz liez Got allez stete.
Din bete müez iemer stete sin.
Maria, vil liehter sunnen schin,
Ditz lop han ich von dir geseit,
Got hat me lobes an dich geleit
Danne kein herze kunde geahten
Bedenken oder betrahten.
Disiu rede schiere ende hat,
Din lip niemer me zegat
In dem vronen paradise:
Disen lop mahte Johannes der wise.

108 Got] gotte.

ANMERKUNGEN.

4 vil liehter morgensterne] Cf. Grimm, *Konrad von Würzburgs Goldene Schmiede*, Einleitung, xliv. Zu den dort angeführten Belegen kämen noch hinzu; *Spec. ecclesiae* (Kelle) 108: si (Maria) heizet ouch stella matutina daz chît morgensterne; *Das pseudo-Konradische Ave Maria*, ed. Sig, Strassburg, 1903, str. 26: reinir morgensterne; Jacobi, *Bruchstück eines Marienliedes*, *Z. f. d. A.*, 3, 133, v. 96.

11 diu reine ruote, usw.] Cf. Grimm, a.a.O., Einleitung und ferner *Arnst. Marienlied*, ed. Waag, 64 ff., de mandelen zwîg | de vore gode bluode: | daz was Aarons ruode. *Melker Marienlied*, ed. Waag, S. 159, v. 1 ff.: Jû in erde | leit Aaron eine gerte, diu gebar mandalon; Sig, a.a.O., 40, str. 25: Aaronis ruote die in templo bluote; *Das Engelberger Marienlied*, ed. Bartsch, *Germania*, 18, 51, v. 27; F. Vetter, *Paraphrase des Ave Maria*, *Germania*, 22, 359, v. 58, u.a. Mone, *Hymni latini mediae aetatis* 32 b. Virga Aaron fructifera | Mariae typum gesserat. Alles nach 4 *Mos.* xviii. 8.

14 gar ane missewende] sehr häufiger Ausdruck in der Marienliteratur cf. Reinmar von Zweter, Wackernagel, *Kirchenlieder*, ii, Nr 153, str. 1: âne alle missewende, und die Wörterbücher von Lexer und Benecke-Müller.

15 diu gerte von Jesse] Cf. Grimm, a.a.O., Einleitung. Ferner Mone, a.a.O., Frankfurt, iv, 3, 14 ff. quae spinetum lilium | ex stirpe Jessê proditum...Virga Jessê de radice. Nach *Jes.*, xi, 10 und *Römer*, xv, 12. Eine ebenfalls häufig verwendete Figur, cf. Wackernagel, a.a.O., 29, str. 6; 178. 1 (Konrad der Marner); 528. 2 (Meffrid); Sig, a.a.O., 34, str. 20; Weigand, *Marien Himmelfahrt*, *Z.f.d.A.*, 5, 518, v. 121, u.a.

24 daz oblat isen] Grimm verweist nur auf *Goldene Schmiede*, 496–7, cf. aber ferner Wackernagel, a.a.O., ii, Nr. 1023, str. 98 (ein kölnisches Ave maria aus dem fünfzehnten Jh.) Maria oblayt ysen | lebendes brodes forme.

28 den der himel niht begrifen mac] Cf. Konrad von Würzburg, *Lieder*, ed. Bartsch, S. 390, 50.

64 keiserîn ob allen wiben] Cf. Suochensinn, Wackernagel, a.a.O., II, 530, 3, du uzerwelte keiserin; *Das Lilienfelder Marienlied*, *Z.f.d.A.*, 47, 288, v. 2: o suzzeu chaiserinne; Bartsch, *Liederdichter*[4], 5. 273, v. 13: der tugende keiserinne (Meister Sigeher).

66 Gotes dirne] Cf. *Goldene Schmiede*, 1847: Heinrich von Loufenberg, ed. Wackernagel, a.a.O., II, 789, 6: ich bin ein dirn des herren; Weinsberg, ibid., 866, 5: si sprach, ich bin | Gotes dirnlin.

68 sin wille muoz an mir ergan] Cf. Weinsberg, ibid., 881, 5: sein wille geschech an mir.

83 von der man singet unde seit] Cf. *Neujahrsgruss an die Frauen*, von Hans Krug, ed. Frommann, *Germania*, 25, 107, v. 28: von in man lißt singtt und schreibt; Pfeiffer, *Mariengrüsse*, a.a.O., 290, v. 582: er hiez in singen unde lesen.

85 ein liehter mane] Nach dem *Lied der Lieder*, VI, 10. Vgl. Heinrich von Loufenberg, ed. Wackernagel, a.a.O., II, 732, 12: mones schin in diser nacht; ibid., 730, 3: du dur lühtender mon; *Das pseudo-Gottfriedsche Marienlied*, ed. Haupt, *Z.f.d.A.*, 4, 524, str. 29, v. 1; Jacobi, *Z.f.d.A.*, 3, 133, v. 97.

87 ein luter spiegelglas] Cf. Grimm, a.a.O., Einleitung, XXXI, und *Sylvester*, v. 47; ferner Bartsch, *Liederdichter*[4], S. 273, 10: Got liebiu spiegelschouwe; und Loufenberg, ed. Wackernagel, a.a.O., 730, 4: du spiegel unversart; Sig, a.a.O., 20, str. 5: spiegil aller zuohte; Haupt, *Z.f.d.A.*, 4, 523, str. 25, v. 3: ein spiegel glas | der wunne; Pfeiffer, *Mariengrüsse*, *Z.f.d.A.*, 287, v. 397: aller vreuden spiegel.

96 der schœnste sterne] Cf. Loufenberg, a.a.O., 730, 6: du stern der schin nie het verlorn; ibid., 7: der wege wisende stern. *Z.f.d.Ph.*, 35, 370: O maria eyn liehter sterne clair u.a.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

'Edward III' and Shakespeare's Sonnets.

The problem of Shakespeare's Sonnets is manifold and may be approached by various avenues; I here propose to consider one aspect of the matter only, the connexion of the Sonnets with the play of *King Edward III.*

It is well known that the last line of the ninety-fourth sonnet is found also near the end of the second scene of the first act of the play. Compare the two passages:

(1) The summer's flower is to the summer sweet,
Though to itself it only live and die,
But if that flower with base infection meet,
The basest weed outbraves his dignity:
For sweetest things turn sourest by their deeds;
Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds.

How beautifully does the last line crown its predecessors! There could be found no fitter setting for it than this. Now look upon the other picture:

(2) A spacious field of reasons could I urge
Between his glory, daughter, and thy shame:
That poison shews worse in a golden cup;
Dark night seems darker by the lightning flash;
Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds,
And every glory that inclines to sin,
The same is treble by the opposite.

Here the lily and the weeds are not led up to as they are in the sonnet. Not only that, but the simile is irrelevant. If the Countess of Salisbury stoops to sin with a king, the high position of the king will but make the sin the fouler. Poison is worse in a gold cup than in earthenware, the lightning but makes the night look blacker. If lilies are to be dragged in after this they should be so to the effect that a lily in the hand of ugliness only shews up the ugliness more plainly. But what is the festering of the lily or the contrast of lily and weed

doing in this context? Set the two passages before any unprejudiced person and ask him which is the original.

But there is another passage in the play, II i 10, where again a phrase agrees with one from the Sonnets (142):

> Love is my sin and thy dear virtue hate,
> Hate of my sin, grounded on sinful loving:
> O, but with mine compare thou thine own state,
> And thou shalt find it merits not reproving:
> Or, if it do, not from those lips of thine,
> That have profaned their scarlet ornaments,
> And sealed false bonds of love as oft as mine
> Robbed others' beds' revenues of their rents.

'Scarlet ornaments' is not a very pretty phrase in itself as applied to lips, but observe how and why it is used; it is in reference to the scarlet wax with which the bond is sealed. And now consider how it is applied by the author of the play:

> Lo, when she blushed, even then did he look pale,
> As if her cheeks by some enchanted power
> Attracted had the cherry blood from his:
> Anon, with reverent fear when she grew pale,
> His cheeks put on their scarlet ornaments,
> But no more like her oriental red,
> Than brick to coral, or live things to dead.

King Edward's cheeks put on scarlet ornaments! Is comment needed? Truly the one passage is like the other as brick to coral. The words 'scarlet ornaments' have caught the play-wright's ear but he did not see the application, and has made the words ridiculous. Again I ask any unprejudiced person to look at the two and say which is the original.

Well, but the first edition of *King Edward III* was published in 1596. If its author was by that time echoing lines and phrases from the Sonnets, then the Sonnets must have been already written, at least in part, by that date. If so, chronology disposes of the theory that Mr W. H. was William Herbert, and along with him exit Mary Fitton; I do not think many tears will be shed on her departure.

Brandes, believing in William Herbert, assumes coolly enough that Shakespeare wrote the first two acts of the play and recalled one line out of it later wherewith to end his sonnet. It does not seem very likely that he should have first written an irrelevant line and put it in to spoil his own context, and then have specially built up a whole sonnet in order to bring the same line in again as a triumphant and perfect climax. Still less likely is it that he first used 'scarlet ornaments' in so infelicitous a manner and then yet again devised the ingenious

reference to the red seal of a bond to rehabilitate his old phrase. When two distinct things are appropriate in one setting, and inappropriate in another, nobody can doubt seriously what has happened. Narcissus by a fountain side grows by nature; when we find him stuck into a glass with a handful of buttercups we do not suppose that he grew *there*.

May I add that after repeated readings of the play spread over many years I feel more and more convinced that the whole of it is due to one hand alone? Its author, like many young poets, could write prettily enough of love and made a brave show in the first two acts; when he came to deal with battles of Cressy and the like he failed lamentably. But the voice sounds to me the same throughout, and if it be the same, it cannot be Shakespeare's. The reference also at the end of the second act to Lucrece,

> whose ransacked treasury hath tasked
> The vain endeavour of so many pens

seems to me to point to Shakespeare's poem among others, but this is of course not conclusive in itself.

Finally here are some conjectures on the text. I ii 22 'parle' for 'parly.' II i 186 'escadrons' for 'squadrons.' III v 28 'swarms' for 'snares.' V i 174 'lofty' for 'fifty.'

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KENTUCKY FOLK-SONGS.

For two hundred years and more, the sequestered valleys of the Cumberland Mountains of Kentucky have by their very isolation preserved the folk-lore of the Old World. Borne westward across the Atlantic on the tide of Colonial emigration to Virginia and the Carolinas, it has radiated thence by oral transmission through the 'gaps' and 'breaks' of the Alleghany ranges into the Kentucky Highlands, its present seat. My pastime for some years has been to gather the 'song-ballads' of this region: over three hundred are now in the collection, most of which have never been printed or even committed to manuscript records until now.

Thirty-one, or fifty-two, if variants of the same ballad be counted, are indigenous to England, Scotland, or Ireland, as is proved by abundant evidence, external and internal. Nineteen are identical with versions printed by Bishop Percy, Scott, Professor Child, and other students of British folk-song. These are: 'Barbara Allen's Cruelty,' 'Lady Isabel

and the Elf Knight,' 'Earl Brand,' 'The Twa Sisters,' 'The Twa Brothers,' 'Young Hunting,' 'The Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard,' 'The Wife Wrapt in Wether's Skin,' 'The Golden Vanitee,' 'Lord Thomas,' 'The Demon Lover,' 'Lord Lovel,' 'Sweet William and Lady Margaret,' 'Edward,' 'Lord Randal,' 'The Jew's Daughter,' 'The Cruel Mother,' 'Lord Bateman' (Beichan), and 'The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington.' Two others may be added, 'Irish Molly O' and 'William Reilley,' which can be seen in the original version in Brooke and Rolleston's *Treasury of Irish Poetry*.

Seventeen more of these Cumberland Mountain songs, though not to my knowledge preserved in collections like the above, contain British place-names or other unmistakeable evidence of their original composition in the Mother Country. Such signs are the mention of London, London Bridge, St Pancras, Katherine Street, Newgate, Nottingham, Sheffield, Edinboro, Wexford, and Dublin. And then, too, the occurrence therein of obsolete words and phrases, as 'dinna,' 'good speed,' 'riddle my sport,' 'a month and a day,' 'come her wi',' 'laughen' for 'laughed,' 'hangen' for 'hanged,' 'bailiff,' 'post-town,' 'dever,' from devoir (sb.), to woo, the Northumbrian plural verb for singular, shillings, pounds, and guineas, 'cordelee,' for 'corde-du-laine,' 'denter,' meadow, and 'toise,' prop. My purpose, however, is not to discuss these. They are mentioned simply because the fact of their existence proves that a strong bond of folk-literature unites the Cumberland Mountain folk of to-day with their European progenitors centuries ago, and thus justifies and explains the analogy now to be exhibited. My purpose is to present two Eastern Kentucky 'song-ballads,' here printed for the first time[1], which have an obvious connection with two well-known literary themes: 'The Red Red Rose,' of Burns, and the 'Glove and Lions' story, as told by Leigh Hunt, Schiller, Browning, and others.

In 'Cold Winter's Night' are two stanzas which lie closely parallel to the love-song of the Scottish poet. Below appears the Kentucky ballad in full, with the lines in point italicized:

As I walked out one cold winter night,
And drinking good old wine,
A-thinking of that pretty little girl,
That stole this heart of mine—

And she looks like some pink rose
That blooms in the month of June,
And now she's like some instrument
Been newly put in tune.

[1] Since writing this some months ago, I have published the second one, on this side of the water, in *Modern Language Notes*, 26, 113 f.

I asked your mamma for you, my love;
She said you were too young.
I wish I'd never seen your face,
Or had died when I was young.

Oh, who will shoe your little feet,
And who will glove your hand,
Oh, who will kiss your ruby lips,
While I'm in a foreign land?

Your papa, my dear, will shoe your feet,
And your mamma will glove your hand;
And I will kiss your ruby lips,
When I return again.

Fare you well, my own true love,
Fare you well, for awhile;
If I go away, I'll come again,
If I go ten thousand mile.

If ever I prove false to you,
The elements shall mourn;
If ever I false prove to you,
The *sea* would rage and burn.

The second analogue lies between another Kentucky folk-song and the Glove and the Lions story, told by Poullain de St Croix in his *Essais Historiques sur Paris*, and afterward made popular in the poems of Schiller, Leigh Hunt, and Browning. The Cumberland Mountain version locates the event in 'Carolina,' though a variant, perhaps an older one, says 'Carlisle':

Down in Carolina lived a lady,
And she was beautiful and gay;
She was determd (*sic*) to live a lady,
And no young man should her betray,

Unless he was a man of honor,
A man of honor and of high degree;
At length there came two lovely sailors,
They came this lady for to see.

One he was a bold lieutenant,
A man of honor and of high degree;
The other was a brave sea-captain,
Belonging to a ship named Colonel Call[1].

Then up spoke this fair young lady,
Saying, 'I can be but one man's bride';
Saying, 'You come here to-morrow morning,
And this here question we'll decide.'

Then she called for coach and horses
To be ready at her command;
They rode away, they rode so lovely,
They rode till they came to the lion's den.

[1] Compare the following from 'The Faithful Lover,' in *Folk Songs from Somerset*, LVI:

The one had a captain's commission
Under command of Colonel Carr:
The other was a lieutenant
On board the Tiger man of war.

There they stopped and there they halted,
While these young men stood ghastly round;
She fell senseless, she fell senseless,
She fell senseless to the ground.

To herself she did recover,
She threw her fan in the lion's den,
Saying, 'Which of you to gain a lady
Will fetch to me my fan again?'

Then up spake this bold lieutenant,
Saying, 'Madam, of this I do not approve;
Madam, I'm a man of honor;
I will not lose my life for love.'

Then up spake this brave sea-captain
Who was there a-standing nigh.
Saying, 'Madam, I'm a man of honor,
I will receive your fan, or die.'

Then down in the cave he boldly entered,
While these lions looked fierce and wild;
He ripped, he raved around amongst them
And returned safe with her fan.

When she saw her love a-coming,
Unto him no harm was done,
She threw herself all in his arms, saying,
'Here is the prize that you have won.'

Then up spake this bold lieutenant,
Just like a man that was troubled in mind,
Saying, 'In these woods I'll always wander,
And not a girl I'll ever find.'

Are these two Kentucky ballads an echo of the literary form, which has filtered into the popular consciousness through school-readers, 'speakers,' and other such media? Or, are they but variants of the very folk-originals seized upon by Burns, Leigh Hunt, and the rest, as the basis of their work? Those deeply versed in ballad-lore—*quorum non ego*—with access to manuscript collections and broadsides across the water, could perhaps definitely answer the question. The third, fourth and fifth stanzas of 'Cold Winter's Night' are obviously akin to 'The Lass of Lochroyan' (No. 76 in Child); while numerous versions of 'The Lion's Den,' recently current in England, have lately been cited by Professor H. M. Belden, of the University of Missouri, in *The Sewanee Review*, April, 1911, p. 218, and by Professor G. L. Kittredge, of Harvard University, in *Modern Language Notes*, 26, 167. As regards the general relation of the popular or vulgar ballad to the literary type, Professor A. H. Tolman, of the University of Chicago, in a casual letter has recently called my attention to the fact that Scott modelled 'Lochinvar' on 'Katharine Jaffray' (No. 221 in Child), that he built his 'Jock of Hazeldean' upon one stanza of 'John of Hazelgreen' (No. 293 in Child), and that elsewhere his borrowings from folk-songs are more or less

easily discernible; also that Burns, as is well known, was, like Scott, very familiar with the ballads, the best version of 'Tam Lin' (No. 39 in Child) being communicated by him.

My personal inclination is therefore toward the second alternative. Should this be some day fully proved, these crude American ballads will deserve recognition among the literary sources of the authors concerned. But whether echo or source, they offer more than a stimulus to the curious student of folk-lore.

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'UNDERNEATH THIS SABLE HERSE,' ETC.

In his note to this epitaph which he prints from Lansdowne MS. 777 Mr Goodwin (*William Browne: The Muses Library*, 1894) says that the lines are also contained 'in the middle-seventeenth century MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and are there signed "William Browne." They appear to have been first printed in Osborne's traditional *Memoirs in the Reign of King James* 1658, and were also included in the *Poems* of Pembroke and Ruddier, 1661.' In all these, I gather from the note—I have not seen Osborne's volume—the epitaph has two sextains, 'Underneath this sable herse,' etc. being followed immediately by 'Marble tombs let no man raise,' etc. In Aubrey's *Natural History of Wiltshire* on the other hand, and Whalley's *Jonson* 1756, only the first is given. 'The epitaph' Mr Goodwin says very justly 'is certainly more effective as a single sextain'; and Mr Hazlitt suggests that 'whoever composed the original sextain, the addition is the work of another pen, namely Lord Pembroke's.' Still it must be remembered that Browne has occasionally marred his work by not knowing when to stay his hand, and the epitaph as it appears in the Lansdowne and Dublin MSS. reflects him at his best and at his worst.

I venture to suggest that what has happened is that two distinct epitaphs—both by Browne—have been accidentally run together, as often happened when poems were circulated in MS. It is generally considered that what appears as the fourth stanza of Catullus' 'Ille mi par esse deo videtur,' that beginning 'Otium, Catulle, tibi molestum est,' cannot belong to the translation of Sappho's poem but has been wrongly attached to it. Professor Mackail mentions an instance in th e Anthology where two epigrams in Callimachus have been given as one

in the Palatine MS. 'but are properly separated in the Planudean and in modern editions.' I hope to be able to show that some poems attributed to Donne are not his but have been assigned to him because in the same theme and therefore given with his in MS. collections.

This explanation of Browne's sextains has been suggested to me by the manner in which they are given in a Bodleian MS., Rawlinson, Poet. 160, f. 25 *b*. There, after two other epitaphs, one conjecturally (I think rightly) assigned by Mr Chambers to Donne; the other Ben Jonson's

Wilt thou hear what man can say, etc.

comes the following:

Epitaphium
Comitissae Pembroke.

Reader this same stone doth tell
The pearles gone here lies the shell
But if thou knewest either Earle
Tho'uld'st sweare here lyes the mother of pearle.

Aliud.

Underneath this sable hearse, etc.

Aliud.

Marble piles let no man raise, etc.

BROWNE.

Here three distinct epitaphs are attributed to Browne. The first I have met before but cannot just now remember where. It is not generally assigned to Browne. It is just possible that the third only is Browne's and that he has been given the second and best by a chance adhesion. But the balance of evidence is in favour of his authorship. Lansdowne MS. 777 is a good authority for Browne's poems. The ascriptions in the second part of the Trinity College, Dublin MS. (there are two quite distinct collections in this MS.) are of no value.

H. J. C. GRIERSON.

ABERDEEN.

GIBBON AND DANTE.

Since my note on the above subject in the last issue of the *Modern Language Review* was written, yet another reference to Dante by Gibbon has been brought to my notice. In his *Outlines of the History of the World*, composed, according to Lord Sheffield, between 1758 and 1763, Gibbon observes: 'The advantages of trade were common to several

nations; but the pleasures and glories of literature were confined to the Italians, or rather to a few men of genius, who emerged from an ignorant and superstitious multitude. The writings of Dante, Boccace, and Petrarch, for ever fixed the Italian language. The first displayed the powers of a wild and original genius....' (*Miscellaneous Works*, Dublin, 1796, Vol. III, p. 190.)

This passage is interesting as containing the germ of the phrase ('the original wildness of Dante') introduced by Gibbon some thirty years later in the sixth volume (1788) of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

I am indebted for this reference to Dr J. W. Ballantyne of Edinburgh, the author of some interesting articles in the *British Medical Journal*, on Dante's knowledge of medicine.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.

REVIEWS.

A History of English Poetry. By W. J. Courthope. Vols. v and vi. London: Macmillan. 1905–10. 8vo. xxviii + 464, xxiv + 471 pp.

Mr Courthope has been labouring for many years at the construction of a history of English Poetry on an original plan, and those who have watched the progress of the work have rightly expected to see in the volume on the eighteenth century the corner-stone of the building.

The plan adopted by Mr Courthope has been, to use his own words, 'to regard poetry as the reflection of our social life,' to treat it 'as an expression of the imagination not simply of the individual poet but of the English people: to use the facts of political and social history as keys to the poet's meaning.' The earlier volumes of the history have illustrated the excellences and the limitations of the method. The investigation of those forces in national life which shape literature has throughout been interesting and illuminating, but the interpretation of individual poets has often suffered through the critic's pre-occupation with political or social tendencies. The method succeeds best where a poet is closely in touch with the political life of his time or where the development of a literary form is intimately bound up with a movement in social life. Witness the excellent treatment of Dryden in connection with his age in the third volume, and the admirable record of the development of the Drama from Ben Jonson to the Restoration in the fourth.

The eighteenth century was an age marked by the close interdependence of literature and politics, and distinguished in poetry not through the brilliance of individual genius but through the conformity of a large school of authors to a social standard of taste, and to certain vigorous habits of thought, shaped by definite historic influences. Small wonder then that the eighteenth century has always been the period in English literature nearest to the heart of Mr Courthope. To twentieth century readers the bulk of early eighteenth century literature is unpalatable if not wholly indigestible. The principle of compromise which shaped the literary ideals of Pope and his school, as it shaped the political ideals of Walpole and the Whigs, answers in no way to the aspirations of an age of unrest. We resent in particular what looks like the apotheosis of common sense and reason as the essence of poetic thought, and the complacent exclusion of living passion and imagination from the sphere of poetry.

A critic like Mr Courthope, who can reveal the interest and value of this eighteenth century literature as much by his enthusiasm as by his critical method, is doing an inestimable service to present-day students. The virtues of his method are well proved in such a chapter as that on 'Whig Panegyrical Poetry,' where he succeeds in making interesting even such 'Minors' as Montague and Tickell by approaching them from the starting-point of a philosophical analysis of the Whig principle. Again, with the enlightened enthusiasm of a true lover he goes far to rehabilitate many poets who have lost their reputation, by his happily-chosen quotations backed by suggestive comments. The chapter on Pope is disappointing, but only perhaps because we know already how much that is interesting Mr Courthope has to say about Pope, and the critic himself shrinks from repetition.

The tenth chapter, on the Philosophical Poetry, gives an illuminating account of the various philosophical developments which found their way into the poetry of the age, and it is excellent in its lively appreciation of individual writers.

The Romantic movement receives attention in one chapter, which deals admirably, though in narrow compass, with the chief writers of the literary Romantic revival. In contrast with his strikingly full and sympathetic treatment of the writers of the classical school, the critic's treatment of the Romantics shows indeed a tendency to be niggardly and destructive. Thus he disposes of Percy's *Reliques* in two sentences, —surely inadequate treatment of a work which for intrinsic value and for far-reaching influence on poetic form and substance is of first importance among the publications of the latter half of the century. And his criticism of Chatterton is destructive rather than appreciative, dealing cleverly with the 'faked' character of the Rowley poems, and the combined precocity and ineffectiveness of the poet's achievement as a whole, but failing to suggest, except in the most general way, that unique poetic quality which is present in such a production as the *Excellent Ballad of Charitie.*

The main thesis on which the judgments of this volume are based is a specifically Courthopian conception of Classicism. In the eyes of this critic the first part of the eighteenth century is the age in which the Classical Renaissance came to its own in England. For him 'the essence of the classic spirit is civic liberty': he sees in the constitutional compromise of Whiggism the triumph of this principle, and declares that 'out of the English political spirit was developed in English poetry the classical form.' The thesis is admirably expounded and illustrated throughout the volume, but we find it hard to be satisfied with a conception of the classic spirit which regards poetic form as the product of political thought, which considers Addison's apostrophe to Marshal Tallard 'a good specimen of really "classical" English verse,' and sees in the poetry of Akenside the last development of the genius of the Classical Renaissance in England. Our distrust deepens when we proceed to the sixth volume and find such a poet as Landor entirely omitted from consideration in a survey of the Revolution period.

Landor's poetry is perhaps in the stricter sense more 'classical' in form than that of any other English writer, and in thought, rebel though he is, he reaches far nearer to the liberal and essentially Greek conception of an ideal free state than any of the eighteenth century poets of compromise. As this slight to Landor suggests, Mr Courthope's conception of the classical spirit is narrowed on the one hand by a certain insensibility to the intrinsic value of form in poetry, and on the other by his inability to believe that a worthy conception of liberty can be framed in the spirit of revolution as well as in the spirit of compromise.

Thoroughly at home in the eighteenth century, at peace with its ideals though conscious of its limitations, Mr Courthope crosses the threshold of the nineteenth century with a sinking heart. The sixth volume opens on a troubled note of misgiving and the final chapter is indeed the swan-song of his History of English Poetry. He bewails the overthrow of the Holy Roman Empire at the hands of Napoleon in 1806 in a manner which we should be inclined to call sentimental if it were not so genuinely impassioned. The event symbolizes for Mr Courthope the break-up of traditional political conceptions by the assertion of the principle of individual liberty. He declares that 'the disappearance of political ideals, which for so many centuries presented an object of reverence to the imagination of mankind, left a void in society which has not been filled.' And he concludes, 'It would be useless for me to attempt to carry the History of English Poetry into our own times on the principle I have deliberately adopted of regarding Poetry as the reflection of our social life, since...the spiritual ideals at present predominant in the mind of the nation are themselves obscure and ambiguous.' We wish that Mr Courthope had bated no jot of heart or hope but steered right onward, and we believe that he must have come to see that the poetry of the nineteenth century, however varied in form and purpose, has yet been essentially in touch with national life, and that the spiritual ideals of the age, however multiform and apparently confused, have been none the less living and progressive. But the fact cannot be blinked that in this last volume the critic approaches his period with a bias. He is painfully conscious of the disintegrating forces at work beneath the surface, and prepared to find a lack of continuity in political and social life, along with a breach between this life and the new growth of poetry. He sees as the root of this new poetic growth 'a self-consciousness out of harmony with the traditional development of civil society' and his uneasy appreciation of the great Romantic poets is explained by the difficulty he experiences in netting them into his critical system.

His estimate of Wordsworth is peculiarly disappointing, in its tiresome insistence upon the poet's introspective individualism, and its failure to allow for his vital participation in all the great public movements of his day. Like too many critics he sees Wordsworth primarily as the prophet of Nature and fails to hail him as the poet of humanity. To sum up Wordsworth's faith as 'monastic nature-worship,' and to complain that his characters are not ideal realities like

Shakespeare's, but the product of 'his own abstract way of thinking about Nature,' is to ignore something which is of the essence of Wordsworth's poetry,—his realization of the vital unity between Nature and man, and his rare sympathy with the primary passions of human nature. And there is another point which escapes the critic. This insight into human nature and knowledge of its powers and needs makes Wordsworth's poetry remarkable not only for its astonishing revelations of individual human character, but also for its embodiment of humanitarian principles which have been the source of progress in every important sphere of life—educational, social and political—from his day to ours.

With Shelley Mr Courthope is much more sympathetic: he appreciates his classical conception of poetry as the organ of public thought and feeling, yet discerns and reveals the essentially romantic temper of his genius. His criticism of Keats on the contrary is marred by a prejudice which is easier to explain than it is to forgive. He is biassed against the poet partly by his flouting of the eighteenth century school in *Sleep and Poetry*, partly by the decisiveness with which his poetry beats a retreat from the battle-ground of social and political forces. He sees in Keats' development not progress but retrogression, declaring that the poet 'steadily contracted the "vast idea" with which he started, and, yielding to a semi-conscious artistic instinct, gave up all thought of imitating social action in an ideal form'; and he quotes the last stanza of the *Ode to Psyche* as the 'abstract and brief chronicle' of his progress in poetry. It is to be regretted that, though he makes good use, in analysing Keats' style, of Professor de Sélincourt's admirable edition of the poet, he fails to realize what no student after the publication of this edition has an excuse for ignoring, the vigorous intellectual development which Keats underwent, the extraordinary swiftness with which he strengthened his grasp upon reality, and the stubborn energy with which he grappled in poem after poem with that hardest problem of the artist, the reconciling of his knowledge of the 'miseries of the world' with his belief in the principle of beauty.

The chapter on Crabbe contains an excellent appraisal of a poet who is often under-rated, that on Byron deals suggestively with the relation of Byron's genius to the Romantic movement and the classical tradition.

Some of the most valuable chapters in the volume are those on 'The New Whigs and their influence on Literature,' on 'Anti-Jacobinism,' and on 'The Exhaustion of Classical influence in English poetry,' where Mr Courthope uses his unique power of revealing the significance of minor literature in relation with social and political movements.

Viewing the volumes as a whole, we are struck by the success with which Mr Courthope has applied his theory to the eighteenth century, and the failure which has attended the attempt of even this discerning and experienced critic to view nineteenth century poetry under its terms. Great poets like Wordsworth and Keats break through the meshes of the system. This fact must give us pause. We cannot agree with Mr Courthope that poetry, even under his definition as

'a mirror for the imagination of men living in a society at once historic and free,' is really dead in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and we cannot feel altogether satisfied with a conception of poetry which regards Keats as a defaulter and which fails to embrace Tennyson, Browning and Swinburne.

Yet the History has been an original and most valuable contribution to the study of English Poetry. It represents the first attempt in English criticism to deal consistently with English Poetry in relation with national life, and every serious student of the subject must ungrudgingly admire the enthusiasm and erudition with which this critic has carried through his great and original work.

HELEN DARBISHIRE.

OXFORD.

Early Plays from the Italian. Edited with Essay, Introductions and Notes by R. WARWICK BOND. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. 8vo. cxviii + 332 pp.

In this valuable book Mr Bond includes a most thorough and scholarly edition of three plays, Gascoigne's *Supposes*, *The Buggbears*, and *Misogonus*. If this were all, we should still be greatly indebted to him: for the two latter plays have hitherto only appeared in German editions, and *Supposes*, though its text has lately been made accessible by Professor Cunliffe, has not hitherto received the annotation with which it is now enriched. But the three plays, carefully edited as they are, appear here as subordinate to the main purpose of the book—which is an examination of the manner in which English comedy of the sixteenth century reproduces the subjects, spirit, and technique of Greek and Roman Comedy as these were modified in the Renaissance Comedy of Italy. Not wishing to state his conclusions merely in abstract terms, Mr Bond decided to append to them 'actual plays to which the reader might instantly turn for verification of indicated parallelism or imitation.' The three selected plays are therefore subsidiary to an 'Essay on the relation of these plays to Latin and Italian Comedy, and to the Dutch Education Drama.'

The last words may seem to extend the scope of the book even beyond the limits already defined. They are necessitated by the inclusion of the play *Misogonus*—which has no direct Latin or Italian prototype, and comes nearest in character to the *Asotus* of Macropedius. Mr Bond justifies its inclusion however by the filial relation in which the German and Dutch educational drama stands to Italian and Plautine comedy.

In his Essay Mr Bond shows a wide and exact knowledge of Latin and Italian Renaissance comedy, and his survey of the latter will be very useful to many of us who find difficulty in coming to close quarters with it by ourselves.

A dated list of representative Italian comedies of the sixteenth century is followed by an examination of the manner in which they reproduce—with certain modifications, such as those occasioned by the substitution of Catholic Christianity for Paganism—the typical subjects, characters and situations of Plautus and Terence. It is pointed out that this was facilitated by the analogy between the political conditions of Italy and those of the Greek states at the time when the New Comedy took shape in the hands of Menander. This discussion is followed by another which treats of the likenesses and unlikenesses of the three English comedies to their Italian and Latin sources or analogues. A valuable contribution is incidentally made to the history of the metres employed in the English plays. Mr Bond's Essay must however be read for itself: and it is needless to attempt any résumé of it.

Each of the plays is preceded by a scholarly essay on questions of text, date, authorship, etc. Mr Bond is inclined to assign *The Buggbears* to one John Jeffere, who at the end of the MS. (Lansdowne MS. 807) has copied a line already written in another hand 'Soli deo honor et gloria' and added 'Johannus Jeffere scribebat hoc.' I must confess that this does not seem to me likely to have been done by the author of the play. The whole thing is much more suggestive of a schoolboy. The very words 'scribebat hoc' seem to me naturally to mean 'wrote what I am writing,' not 'wrote the play'—and can it be supposed that an author sufficiently well read to compose a comedy on the basis of one Italian play and to incorporate in it scenes suggested by another should be so ignorant of Latin as to translate his own name by 'Johannus'?

The main source of *The Buggbears* is Grazzini's *La Spiritata*, published in 1561, but much of this is discarded, and some additional scenes are based on *Gli Ingannati* (first acted at Siena in 1531). Mr Bond repeatedly speaks of *Gli Ingannati* as the work of Adriano Politi, wrongly, I think, though till lately the error found a place in the British Museum Catalogue. Politi was a scholar who flourished early in the seventeenth century, and was, according to Allacci's *Drammaturgia*, also the author of a comedy called *Gli Ingannati*. But even Allacci makes it clear that this was not the Sienese play of a century earlier.

With regard to these borrowings from *Gli Ingannati*, I may point out that it is possible they were indirect borrowings through the French translation by Charles Estienne called *Les Abusez*. This is the case with the Latin play *Laelia*, which was thought till lately to have been based directly on the Italian comedy. In the case of *The Buggbears* it is probably impossible to say whether the Latin or the French was the immediate source. I notice however that Mr Bond, who has detected the dependence of Act IV. sc. 5 on *Gli Ingannati*, II. 8, says 'The actual dialogue, however, is entirely the Englishman's.' This is shown not to be the case if we compare *The Buggbears* IV. 5. 33,

Can. how heardst it?
Sq. wth mine eares, it was not wth mine elbowes

with *Gli Ingannati* II. 8. 19:

Fla. Come gli uedesti tu?
Cri. Con gli occhi. credete forse ch' io gli habbi ueduti con le gombita?

On the lines *Buggbears* III. 1. 17 'may pearce my master to the hart, and gyve his head eveny' (riming with 'many'), Mr Bond suggests that 'eveny' is perhaps a late instance of 'evene' (meaning 'matter'), found in *Cursor Mundi* 335 ('euen') and *Kingis Quhair* clxxxii ('evyn'). But surely the accent of the word alone would make this impossible. Is not 'eveny' a mistake for 'a veny' (='veney,' 'venue,' a thrust at fencing)?

III. 4. 10. 'who feares my hart, who loathes my loss.' Query, 'who feares my hurt.'

The play *Misogonus* was transcribed for Collier and more lately for Professor Brandl. Mr Bond has however transcribed it again himself, and has printed it without even altering the punctuation. It is thus an exact reproduction of the MS. and in this form, with its many difficulties of language, is by no means easy reading. In fact a young student's knowledge of sixteenth century English could hardly be better tested than by setting him to make out a page of it. With the assistance given him by the previous work of Brandl, Carpenter, and Manly, Mr Bond has succeeded in explaining most of the difficulties. Occasionally, however, one would be glad of a note where no note is given: and here and there one questions if Mr Bond's explanations are the right ones.

I. 3. 48. Is not the meaning this: 'I should make a good priest but for having something which makes me indisposed to celibacy'?

I. 4. 23. 'doth me chalings and deare.' In spite of IV. 2. 7, I cannot think that 'chalings' is here a substantive in the plural. It is surely a mis-writing of 'chalinge' (verb).

II. 4. 96. 'heile come as round as a purr.' Whatever a 'purr' is[1], whether a pig, a pear, a codlin, or a round bit of wood or iron, I don't think it affects the general sense. There is, I think, a kind of humorous play on the meaning of 'round' in its natural sense as applied to a round object, and in its sense 'sharply' 'promptly' when associated with a verb of motion. Cp. *Club Law* 623: 'Ile carie him to the feast, as rounde as a Julers box'; Stubbes, *Anatomie*: 'to Bocardo goeth he as rounde as a ball.' The simile does not imply 'exactness' or 'certainty,' but speed.

II. 4. 113. 'heis a beakinge prist.' Not much light is thrown on this expression by the fact that the Dialect Dictionary 'has a N. country verb *beek* "to warm," e.g. "she sat beeakin hersel afoor t' fire." This 'N. country verb' carries us no further than the standard-English 'bake,'—and the expression 'a baking priest' still needs explanation.

II. 4. 116. 'Ile kepe yow company.' Query, 'to kepe yow company (I will not spare for a pound or two).'

[1] The N.E.D. takes no notice of this passage.

II. 4. 192. 'ery little wagpasty' (every little boy). Mr Bond remarks on 'wagpasty': ''-*pasty* perhaps inceptive, "in the moulding": or implies "fond of tarts."' This would imply that 'wag' could stand alone as a substantive at this time. I doubt it.

II. 4. 284. 'henbourde.' This is surely nothing but 'hen-bird,' suggested by 'treads' in the previous line. Cp. l. 288 'he is a right cocke' and the spelling 'burdinge' l. 297. Mr Bond's note shows again an unnecessary recourse to the Dialect Dictionary: '? "bridal merriment" or "merry bride": *Hen-* is a Yorkshire word compounded with others to denote "wedding" (*Dial. Dict.*).'

II. 5. 46. 'ile kepe both hir and the rest in mauger your bearde.'

Mr Bond would read 'in manger, mauger.' Rather, perhaps, 'I, mauger.'

III. 3. 147. 'Yeaue in wenye likt me whole we your tauke.'

Mr Bond explains 'You've in verity liked me well (or 'wholly') with your talk,'—I suppose, taking 'liked' = 'pleased.'

Can it not mean 'licked me well (or into good health)' as a dog licks a sore?

IV. 1. 127. 'Gods blwe hood.' Is not this merely a humorous perversion of 'God's blood'? and not synonymous, as Bond thinks, with 'Gods cope'? Even if Bond is right so far, I think 'God's cope' does not mean 'the sky,' but is perhaps suggested by the costume assigned to the Father in the Miracle Plays.

IV. 1. 137. 'Ey maye wante.' Bond, 'ay, marry, warrant.' Rather, I think; 'ay, marry war't,' that is, 'ay, marry was't.'

IV. 2. 12. 'I will surky the thome.' Mr Bond rejects Brandl's reading 'I will surly the thome' and interpretation (apparently 'I will beat thy thumb') and as 'ky' in the MS. stands near to 'the,' suggests doubtfully 'I will sure kith thee home' taking 'kith' as metonomy for 'drive,' satirizing his claim of relationship. As 'thome' rimes with 'become,' the vowel is probably that of 'thumb,' not that of 'home.' But a satisfactory explanation seems still to be required.

IV. 3. 4. 'vociferarū.' I suggest 'vociferare,' to agree with the forms 'emūge' and 'clama.' Perhaps a full stop after 'vociferare.'

It seems to me that a good deal remains to be done for the text of *Misogonus*; but Mr Bond has given us an excellent and most useful edition of the three plays, and in his Introductory Essay has shown very clearly the nature of the relationship which existed between English Comedies of the sixteenth century and their Italian and classical models.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

Laelia. a Comedy acted at Queens' College, Cambridge. Edited by G. C. Moore Smith. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. xxviii + 115 pp.

The same volume in the Lambeth library contains both *Fucus Histriomastix*, already edited by Professor Moore Smith, and *Laelia*. It is certainly strange, in view of its supposed relation to *Twelfth Night*, that the latter piece should not have been printed before; but if it has had to wait for an editor, it has been fortunate in the one it has eventually found.

Laelia is commonly said to have been acted at Queens' College in 1590 and 1598, but Professor Moore Smith argues with great ingenuity for the date 1 March 1594/5, and I think establishes his contention so far as it is possible to do so by indirect evidence. [See, however, his further note in *M.L.R.* VI, 382.] He is undoubtedly right, by the way, in regarding Rowland Whyte's 'Pedantiq' as a mere misreading of 'Pedantius.'

Laelia is an adaptation of the Sienese 'Intronati' comedy *Gli Ingannati* by way of Charles Estienne's French translation entitled *Les Abusés*. This is quite obvious from the names of the characters. *Gli Ingannati* seems also to have been the source of a certain novel of Bandello's translated by Belleforest in the *Histoires Tragiques*, whence Rich drew his tale of *Apolonius and Silla*, the commonly acknowledged source of *Twelfth Night*. As to the relation of Shakespeare's play to *Laelia* controversy is likely to be keen. The editor clearly considers that Shakespeare's main inspiration came from Rich, but he mentions a number of details which he thinks point to a knowledge of *Laelia*. I cannot say that I find these at all convincing. Moreover, if the points mentioned are really significant they imply a knowledge of both the Italian and the Latin. Still less cogent are the grounds for arguing a connection between *Twelfth Night* and Bandello's or Belleforest's versions, though that Shakespeare was acquainted with the latter is of course intrinsically likely.

To suppose that Shakespeare knew of more than one version of the tale is reasonable enough, and there is certainly no ground to deny Professor Moore Smith's hypothesis that the author being already familiar with Rich's version was fired to the production of his play by the report of the Cambridge performance. But to suppose that he thereupon wasted his time in seeking out copies of *Laelia*, *Gli Ingannati* and the *Histoires Tragiques*, to say nothing of *Gli Inganni* and Bandello, seems to me gratuitous.

The text has evidently been prepared with great thought and care. In such a case as the present it is always a difficult question how far the vagaries of the original scribe should be retained, and how far they should be normalized. If it be thought that in some respects Professor Moore Smith has been a little arbitrary in his decisions, it must be borne in mind that the difficulties with which an editor has had to contend, and the conflicting demands which he has sought to reconcile,

do not always fully appear in the completed work. As a guarantee the serious critic is here provided with full textual notes, in which all departures from the manuscript are recorded, and often justified by reference to the French. The other notes are chiefly occupied by references to classical authors in illustration of phrases in the text. These Latin academic dramas are, of course, often almost composed of tags from the authors read in the schools, and it is right that this should be pointed out in some detail. This Professor Moore Smith has amply done. To demand that every classical reminiscence should be recorded—even were the task possible—would be hypercritical, and it is matter for satisfaction that the editor has not wasted his time in such an attempt.

There is one point in this admirable edition that I regret. A critic having spoken of *Laelia* as 'the undoubted immediate source of *Twelfth Night*,' the editor remarks, apparently without intentional irony: 'We may feel some surprise at the rapidity with which Professor —— arrived at "certainty" in regard to a play which he had not read: but at least we are bound to treat his view with respect.' Professor Moore Smith is a serious student, and there is no need for him to indulge in polite rhetoric. To pretend respect for the opinions of a writer who was obviously in no position to form any, is unworthy of the severe reticence of his own scholarship.

W. W. Greg.

Cambridge.

Les Masques Anglais. Étude sur les ballets et la vie de cour en Angleterre (1512—1640). Par Paul Reyher. Paris: Hachette. 1909. x + 563 pp.

M. Reyher had already been some time at work on the history of the English masque when Dr Brotanek published the standard work on the subject in Oct. 1901 (the book is dated 1902). Undeterred by finding himself thus anticipated, the French scholar turned his attention more exclusively to that side of the question which most interested him, and elaborated the relation of the court entertainments to the general social conditions of the time. This was perhaps the task for which he was most exceptionally fitted, for while his patient researches among documents and texts would have given permanent value to any work that he might have seen fit to publish, it was this particular investigation that gave the best scope for his admirably vivid and well trained historical imagination, and enabled him to turn to the very best account his almost unparalleled knowledge alike of the permanent literature and of the more ephemeral writings of the time. And it is also in such exposition as this that the reader gets the best effect from the clearness and elegance of M. Reyher's style, a style, be it said, which at the same time has qualities of grip and grit to an unusual degree.

Not that the substantial volume he has written consists chiefly of general dissertations. The whole subject is covered in a thoroughly satisfactory and competent manner, if not with the severe matter-of-factness of Brotanek's work. We have the masque traced to its obscure origins in the mummings of earlier times; the conditions of performance described, as well as the libretti, scenery, dresses, music and dancing; the consummation of the art is depicted in the hands of Jonson, and its decadence in those of his successors. Great interest attaches to the technical analysis of Inigo Jones' staging, and to the elaborate plans of scenery reproduced from the Lansdowne manuscripts. Nor will the author's judgements on literary matters fail to receive the attention they deserve. Of particular interest possibly, if one is called upon to choose, is his defence of the right of Milton's Ludlow entertainment to rank as a masque. This Brotanek denied, but he seems now inclined to alter his views in deference to those of his French confrère. The dispute is not merely verbal. *Comus* undoubtedly partakes of the nature both of the masque and of the regular play, and for my own part I continue to think that the incongruity of the two, unreconciled even by Milton's poetry and constructive ingenuity, is fatal to its success as a dramatic representation, an opinion which the opportunity recently afforded at Cambridge of witnessing the piece on the stage has only served to confirm.

It is not my intention to enter into a detailed criticism of M. Reyher's work, but I may be allowed to refer to the minute review of it by Dr Brotanek in the current *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*. The history of the English masque is now in its main lines established, and the subject lies before students in two solid volumes of remarkable excellence.

W. W. Greg.

Cambridge.

An Anthology of the Poetry of the Age of Shakespeare. Chosen and arranged by W. T. Young. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 8vo. ix + 307 pp.

The object of this series is, so Mr Young tells us, 'an adjustment of the claims of literature and literary history.' The claims of literary history he apparently considers too slight to deserve serious notice, and while every teacher of literature will cordially endorse what he says as to the necessity of encouraging students to avoid second-hand knowledge and go straight to the sources, it is impossible to pass without protest the inference that the critical history of literature is invariably, or even usually, a mere 'encumbrance of formulas, epigrams and generalisations.' There must always be a place for such historians as Ten Brink and Taine, for M. Jusserand or M. Legouis; the student who is capable of using their pages merely for purposes of 'cram' is not likely to gain much even from the best edited of anthologies. From the point of view of the serious student anthologies themselves are nothing more than

handy books of reference. To understand a poet thoroughly, or to appreciate his relation to his age, it is necessary to study his works, not in selections chosen by even the best of teachers, but as they stand, to take the bad as well as the good, to plod along the flats as well as to scale the elevations. But if volumes of selections are but one degree in advance of those literary histories which Mr Young condemns, they are not without a very real value. In the first place they provide the general reader with a great deal of pleasure which he would otherwise miss, they render accessible poems which lie buried in dull and dreary plays, they pick out the jewels which gleam in many an ancient dust-heap; in the second, by emphasising the beauties and peculiarities of some author or of some age they help to set the feet of the student upon the right path, they hold out a hope of reward for his labours, and teach him for what he should look.

This is the particular function, which Mr Young's anthology is intended to fulfil, and the book is admirably adapted to its purpose. The selections are well made; they illustrate all the more important phases of Elizabethan and Jacobean poetry, from Tottel's Miscellany (1557) to Donne's satires (1633). The greater part of the volume is devoted to lyric poetry, and it is only natural that this should be the more satisfactory portion—lyrics are, as a rule, intended to stand by themselves and consequently they are admirably adapted for use in anthologies. Fragments from narrative poems necessarily appear somewhat scrappy; as Mr Young points out, their object is less to delight in themselves than to induce the student 'to turn to the complete poem, and make his approach to the author through his work.' It is curious that while Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond* attracts all lovers of Elizabethan poetry, the compilers of anthologies seem unanimous in omitting that most characteristic and dramatic passage in which Rosamond describes how the angry Queen gives her the fatal dagger and bowl,

> And leaves me alone, of all the world forsaken
> Except of Death, which she hath left with me:
> Death and myself alone together be.

On the whole, however, there is little in this volume with which anyone will feel disposed to quarrel. There are no very striking or original discoveries, and certain of the poems, such as Fletcher's 'Oh, how my lungs do tickle, ha, ha, ha!' are worth including only on the ground that they prove that poor verse as well as good was produced by the Elizabethans. If an example of a rollicking drinking song were needed, surely 'St Hugh be our good speed' from Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday* would have been better than the not very convincing mirth of the parishioners of the Spanish Curate. But it is inevitable that no two people should ever quite agree as to the poems they consider best or most representative; the omissions in this volume are few and the inclusions are many, and are none of them without value of some kind. It is a book which will be found helpful by those who are

beginning the study of Elizabethan literature, and will afford pleasure to all lovers of poetry. An index of authors, with their dates and a list of the works included, is provided, as well as an index of first lines.

Grace E. Hadow.

Cirencester.

Chaucer. Par É. Legouis (Les grands écrivains étrangers). Paris: Bloud. 1910. 8vo. viii + 261 pp.

M. Legouis has written what is probably the best popular account of Chaucer. He has not attempted to contribute anything original to the solution of the various unsolved problems, chronological or literary, which engage the attention of Chaucer students, but he shews familiarity with the admitted facts, and presents us with an appreciative study of the poet and his work, written in a very attractive manner and displaying the literary skill which was to be expected of its author. Especially good is his account of the *Canterbury Tales*, in the form of a full analysis followed by a literary study, and he does full justice to Chaucer as the first dramatic realist in the literature of modern Europe, rightly regarding his portraiture of the pilgrims in the Prologue and in the conversations upon the road, and his comic presentation of contemporary life, such as is found in the Miller's, Reeve's, Friar's, Summoner's and Merchant's tales, and in the Wife of Bath's prologue, as the most original production of his genius. In his appreciation of this M. Legouis has been led somewhat to undervalue Chaucer's more serious poetical work. He justly remarks that Chaucer transformed the *fabliau* into something essentially different and far more valuable, by his development of character; but he refuses to allow that anything of the same kind was done with reference to the material supplied to him by Boccaccio for the tales of Troilus and of Palamon and Arcite. Every reader of *Troilus and Criseide* by the side of the *Filostrato*, or of the *Knight's Tale* by the side of the *Teseide*, must be struck by the manner in which Boccaccio's slight and superficial presentation of character has been enlarged and deepened by Chaucer, and his fluent and conventional descriptions turned into something of a far higher poetical value. The debt which Chaucer owed to Italian literature was a sufficiently important one. He not only drew from it materials for his work, but also—a matter of far more significance—he found in it models of artistic construction such as no other literature in Europe could at that time have supplied. But he borrowed in no servile spirit, and for the most part he bettered what he took. It is but a shallow criticism that objects to Chaucer's idea of the character of Criseide on the ground that the story of her faithlessness becomes less intelligible in his rendering of it. No doubt Boccaccio's representation of his Briseida makes her story only too intelligible; but Chaucer's more subtle and complex conception supplies an interest which is wanting in the work of his predecessor, and at the same time is at least as true to nature.

M. Legouis hardly even gives Chaucer credit for the transformation of the commonplace youth Pandaro into the incomparable uncle who plays so large a part in his story, though we have here one of the most masterly of his comic creations. Few will be found to agree with M. Legouis that Chaucer's Pandarus is a mere mass of inconsistencies, and his conversation intolerably wearisome. On the whole it may be said that the appreciation which we have here of the *Canterbury Tales* is far more satisfactory than that of Chaucer's other works.

However, the book on the whole is very good reading, and contains much that is sound and useful. Moreover, the specimens of translation which M. Legouis has given us are for the most part excellent, and shew how effectively Chaucer may be rendered into French verse. As a specimen we may cite the opening lines of the *Wife of Bath's Tale*:

> Au temps jadis où régnait cet Artus
> De qui Bretons vont prônant les vertus,
> Tout ce pays était plein de féerie.
> Souvent dansaient sur la verte prairie
> Les gais lutins en ronde avec les fées.
> Il s'est passé des centaines d'années,
> Ce m'a-t-on dit, depuis ces temps lointains
> Et nul ne voit à présent de lutins,
> Car le saint zèle et les grandes prières
> Des Limiteurs et autres pieux Frères
> Qui vont plus dru par les champs d'alentour
> Que grains de poudre en les rayons du jour,
> Bénissant tout: la chambre et la cuisine,
> Et le grenier et la salle où l'on dîne,
> Ferme et manoir, étable et laiterie,—
> De cela vient qu'il n'est plus de féerie.
> Car où soulait rôder quelque lutin
> Un Limiteur récite son latin
> Tandis qu'il va durant la matinée
> Faire de porte en porte sa tournée.
> Femme peut bien, sans péril et sans peur,
> De çà de là, sous les buissons en fleur
> Et dans les bois s'éjouïr aujourd'hui,
> Il n'y demeure autre incube que lui,
> Et ne voudrait lui faire déshonneur.

G. C. Macaulay.

Cambridge.

Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association. Collected by A. C. Bradley. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1910. 8vo. 196 pp.

This is an interesting and valuable collection of papers, and should serve to remind the public of the existence and useful activity of the society by which it is published. The book contains seven essays, each presented by its author to the English Association, and the editor expresses a hope that similar collections may follow annually. It will be a considerable achievement if the literary standard of the present volume can be kept up in the future publications.

The book opens with a paper on English Place-names by Dr Henry Bradley, which is an admirable example of popular and at the same time scientific treatment of a subject which has suffered more than most others from popular unscientific methods. Till recently competent scholars have usually left it alone, and it has fallen into the hands of persons who have no proper knowledge of linguistic principles. The etymologies produced under these conditions are often much more interesting than the true ones, for fiction is usually more entertaining than fact:

> An etymologist who can operate at will with the words of a dozen languages, and has no inconvenient grammatical knowledge to hamper him in putting them together, is able to make a name mean almost anything he likes; and if he is a person of taste, he will of course choose to find in it some bit of picturesque description, a reference to ancient beliefs or superstitions, or a memorial of some historical event.

Recently, no doubt, better methods have been to some extent introduced; but Dr Bradley's statement of the principles which should be followed and his illustrations of the right or the wrong way to do things are none the less useful and seasonable.

The second essay, by Mr Robert Bridges, 'On the present state of English pronunciation,' contains much more questionable matter. The author sounds a note of alarm, partly occasioned by the phonetic tendencies of the language, and partly by the supposed enormities of those who attempt to record them. To these last it must be said that he does some injustice, while at the same time he misses some points which might fairly be made against them. It is not of course in the least true that the pronunciation indicated by Mr Daniel Jones for such words as 'of,' 'and,' 'as,' 'at,' 'to,' when used without stress in a sentence, can be represented in 'Victorian' or any other spelling as 'erv,' 'ernd,' 'ers,' 'ert,' 'ter,' etc., for these forms of spelling imply syllabic lengthening. The point which Mr Bridges ought to have made is that the pronunciation of such words, and of unaccented words generally, is far less mechanically uniform than most phoneticians are apt to assume. For example, the pronunciation of 'to' differs essentially in accordance with its position before a vowel or before a consonant: compare 'I mean to go,' with 'I intend to answer him.' And so also the article 'the': compare 'the object,' with 'the chief object.' Dissimilation, too, often takes place when two such words come together, and in the case of many unstressed syllables there is an amount of casual variation in the pronunciation of cultured speakers which is by no means usually reckoned for. The first syllable of 'authority,' for example, varies in its pronunciation from the sound that we have in 'author' to that which occurs in the first syllable of 'nothing,' according to the taste of the speaker or the degree of deliberation with which he speaks; but neither can be said to be absolutely right, to the exclusion of the other. Phoneticians have certainly not sufficiently recognised the variations which are dependent upon the balance of the sentence and the influence of neighbouring sounds, and it is here that they are mainly open to

criticism and not because they endeavour to record the current pronunciation of the day.

The remarkable conversion of Mr Bridges to phonetic spelling is due to alarm at the supposed rapidity with which change is proceeding, and an idea that something may be done to arrest it, or even to undo the work that has already been done, by the acceptance of a standard system of phonetic spelling. It is true probably that the establishment of such a standard in schools might tend to make change less rapid; but the first essential condition of its acceptance must be that it shall represent the actual pronunciation of educated men at the present time, and not some fancy system compounded of individual taste and the fashion of the last generation, such as Mr Bridges recommends. It must be subject also to correction at stated intervals, say every ten years or so; for change belongs to the life of language, and in a living language, though it may be retarded, it cannot be altogether arrested. The process to which Mr Bridges chiefly objects is one that has been going on for as long as there are records of the English language: he would have found even greater cause for complaint in the early Middle English period, when the rich variety of the Old English inflexional terminations in *a*, *e*, *o*, *u*, was being levelled to one monotonous *e*, soon to be lost altogether. Indeed the process was a far more rapid one than anything of the kind which can take place now-a-days. Any attempt, then, to arrest change absolutely is foredoomed to failure, and still more any attempt to put the clock back and regain the pronunciation of a former age, even if we could agree what that pronunciation was.

But undoubtedly, if we are to have phonetic spelling, we may learn much from Mr Bridges on the artistic side. The ordinary phonetic script is horribly ugly, and that of Mr Bridges, made up, as he tells us, mainly from an old Anglo-Saxon fount at the Clarendon Press, is undeniably beautiful, while at the same time it is very easy to read. The objection to it is that it has no less than fifty-eight symbols, and that with a view to reproducing, as far as possible, the effect of the old spelling in combination with his phonetic notation, several symbols are in some cases used for the same sound, as in the case of *c* and *k*, and we find 'knight' spelt with the *k* and *h* to which we are accustomed, 'back' with the final *ck*, and 'nation' with a *t*.

Professor Ker's essay on Browning is a little disappointing. It was delivered as a lecture, and as a lecture no doubt it was very pleasant and suggestive; but the reader feels that the subject might well have been more fully developed. Professor Ker has well-founded doubts about the functions of commentary and paraphrase in reference to poems, and yet he is obliged to admit that Browning's work needs them, surely a most serious indictment against a poet; but he rightly vindicates for Browning the power of combining strength with beauty, and what is more difficult, genuine comedy with lyric elevation, in spite of the grotesque outrageousness of style which too often offends us. But just as we were hoping for fuller illustration of these qualities, the essay comes to an end. 'It is time to stop. The poet may be left to

do his work; to prove, even against his own argument in *Pacchiarotto*, that what he has to give us is not knowledge only, nor strength only, but beauty.'

Mr George Neilson's essay on 'Blind Harry's *Wallace*' is on a different scale, and discusses a smaller subject at more than twice the length. The thesis is that the episodes of Blind Harry's poem are to a great extent borrowed from Barbour's *Bruce*, a conclusion which seems to be sufficiently made out, to the detriment of any historical authority which *Wallace* may have been supposed to possess.

Professor Saintsbury treats of 'Shakespeare and the Grand Style,' defining the grand style, however, in a manner which deprives the term of its special significance. He defines it (p. 114) as 'the perfection of expression in every direction and kind, the commonly called great, and the commonly called small, the tragic and the comic, the serious, the ironic, and even to some extent the trivial (not in the worst sense, of course).' It is doubtful if anything is gained by applying the term thus, but there is of course no difficulty in illustrating by examples from Shakespeare.

Miss Sichel in 'Some suggestions upon bad Poetry' is rather hard on her own sex, which is made to furnish a large number of the worst examples. The criticism is sound enough, but we refuse to believe that Georgiana Farrer was ever a popular poet, and the triumph is poor over such a nonentity. The bad poetry of good poets, of which a few examples are cited, is far more instructive than that which is produced by those who are no poets at all.

The last essay in the book, that by Professor Vaughan on 'Carlyle and his German Masters,' is the most interesting and valuable of the whole collection. It is mainly directed to shewing the effect on Carlyle of two leading spiritual forces, that of Goethe and that of Fichte, leaving aside the more superficial and obvious indebtedness of his style to Richter. I refrain from analysing this excellent paper, and content myself with saying that it should be read by all who wish to realise the extent to which Carlyle was in the deeper sense influenced by the literature and philosophy of Germany.

G. C. Macaulay.

Cambridge.

Haverford Essays. Studies in Modern Literature prepared by some former pupils of Professor Francis B. Gummere. Haverford, Pa. 1909. 8vo. 303 pp.

This volume consists of ten essays written in commemoration of the completion of Professor Gummere's twentieth year as Professor of English at Haverford College; and every student of literature who is acquainted with the wide scope and originality of Professor Gummere's scholarship and has recognised the greatness of his achievements in the study of the origins of our national life and national literature will

accord a hearty welcome to this volume, which the loyalty of his former students has brought into being. The variety of the topics here dealt with is an index to the breadth of Professor Gummere's literary interests. Mr C. G. Hoag discusses 'The Logic of Argument'; Mr S. G. Spaeth deals at some length with 'Milton's Knowledge of Music'; Mr W. S. Hinchman and Mr C. H. Burr furnish interesting, but somewhat slight, impressionist studies of 'George Herbert' and 'The Younger Wordsworth' respectively; while Mr A. G. H. Spiers presents us with a suggestive interpretation of the 'Vita Nuova,' chapters 24 to 28. The remaining essays are by Dr J. A. Lester on 'Some Franco-Scottish Influences on the Early English Drama'; Dr C. W. Stork on 'Heine and Tennyson'; Dr W. H. Hart on 'The Franklin's Tale'; Dr C. H. Carter on 'Ipomedon: An Illustration of Romance Origin'; and Dr W. W. Comfort on 'The Moors in Spanish Popular Poetry before 1600.' In the space at our disposal, it is impossible to refer to each of these essays in detail, but the attention of readers should, in the first instance, be drawn to Dr Lester's valuable study of Franco-Scottish Influences on English Drama, in which he opens up new ground and furnishes interesting material to show that in certain directions of dramatic development Scotland acted as an intermediary between France and England. In particular, he draws our attention to Lindsay's *Satire of the Three Estates* and indicates its dependence upon the *moralités* and *sotties* of the Frenchman Gringore—the Pierre Gringoire of Hugo's *Notre Dame*; he maintains, moreover, that Lindsay was the first to follow Gringore in applying medieval drama to political ends, and that his influence can be traced in Bishop Bale's *King John*, and the later political dramas which grew up on English soil. Dr Lester also furnishes us with evidence that the masque, imported into Scotland from France during the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, obtained considerable vogue at the Scottish court in the closing years of the sixteenth century, and passed from Scotland to England with the accession of the first of the Stuart monarchs. Dr Lester would probably allow that, in the development of the political play and the court masque in England, other influences were at work besides that with which he here deals; but, in insisting on the claims of Scottish drama, he has drawn our attention to a stream of influence which is undeniably of some importance and which has been too much overlooked.

Dr Hart's essay on 'The Franklin's Tale' discusses at some length and with fine literary appreciation the literary and dramatic qualities of the story of Arveragus and Dorigen, its relation to the Breton lays of Marie de France, and its place in the framework of the *Canterbury Tales*. He concludes with the statement that the tale owes nothing to Boccaccio's rendering of the story in the *Decamerone* (x. 5), or to the same author's *Filocolo*: 'Whatever the provenience of the story, the technique of the *Franklin's Tale* has every appearance of being simply the result of a translation of *a* Breton lay, or an imitation of *the* Breton lay, by a great poet who happened to be writing at the time mainly in the manner of the *fabliaux*.'

Dr Stork's paper on 'Heine and Tennyson' makes no attempt to trace the influence of the one poet upon the other—a well-nigh impossible undertaking—and, as the reader might expect, the comparison which he draws between their literary genius and poetic methods is rather of the nature of a contrast. He finds that 'the essence of Heine's style is subjectivity and directness,' whereas Tennyson is before all things 'objective, descriptive, decorative.' 'Ideal poetry,' Dr Stork concludes, 'must preserve a balance between power and restraint, both of which are essential; of these qualities, Heine excels in the former, Tennyson in the latter.'

F. W. Moorman.

Leeds.

A Book of Cambridge Verse. Edited by E. E. Kellett. Cambridge: University Press. 1911. 8vo. xvi + 440 pp.

In this goodly volume Mr Kellett gives us a 'representative selection from the mass of verse in the English language [from Chaucer onwards] that relates, more or less closely, to the University of Cambridge.' The book is therefore not a collection of pieces chosen for their merit as poetry or wit; its object is to show us how Cambridge men or other men have spoken of Cambridge—and to Cambridge men at least every page has its interest. Mr Kellett opens with a Preface and appends to his collection a number of useful notes.

Probably every Cambridge man will think that some favourite poet of his University or college is insufficiently represented. As in private duty bound, I think E. W. Bowling and R. H. Forster might have been more largely drawn upon. I should also have liked to see here 'The Lay of the Early Bird,' by W. S. Sherrington (*Eagle*, xii, 294). Mr Kellett has made use of the earliest volumes of the *Eagle*,—whether he studied the rest is not clear. The *Eagle* has been said to be less remarkable for the height to which it soars than for the length of time it remains on the wing. Perhaps Mr Kellett conceived some distaste of it on this account.

Mr Kellett has however anticipated this kind of criticism, which after all rests chiefly on personal predilection. He tells us that he has 'spent almost more time in keeping the volume within moderate limits than in collecting the material,' and if he has omitted poems which his readers think should have been included, he appeals to their generous indulgence. That indulgence will certainly be accorded with a full meed of gratitude for what he has given.

A few remarks may be added on points of detail.

One might perhaps wish that some indication could have been given where the titles prefixed to poems or extracts are Mr Kellett's and not those of the original writers. The title 'The Backs' takes us by surprise in connexion with Montagu's lines of 1683 (p. 87), and Wordsworth's (p. 166). Bentley's lines 'Who strives to mount Parnassus' hill' (p. 93) are rather oddly headed *Bentley*, and Anstey's lines on the

Cam (p. 139) *The New Bath Guide*—which is rather their source than their subject. In his note Mr Kellett might have mentioned the fact that Anstey's home was Trumpington Hall. On pp. 154, 155 Henry Kirke White's second name appears as 'Kirk.'

In connexion with *Encomium Lauri* (p. 12) Gabriel Harvey is described as 'Pembroke Hall 1545—1630' (he died in $163\frac{0}{1}$ and was probably born nearer 1550). But at the time when these lines were first published, Harvey was a Fellow of Trinity Hall, and as Mr Kellett himself shows in his note, Nashe associates these verses with Trinity Hall rather than Pembroke.

To some of his pieces Mr Kellett prefixes passages by other authors as mottoes. I cannot see any advantage in thus associating Wordsworth's recollections of his college life with those of the older Johnian Nashe (p. 156)—or the lines of 'G' in the *Cambridge Review* of 1882 with Tennyson's *Princess*. Longfellow's sonnet headed 'St John's, Cambridge' (p. 295) is connected with our ancient University by the motto prefixed by Mr Kellett. The sonnet however has nothing whatever to do with our Cambridge, but relates to St John's Memorial Chapel at Cambridge in America (see *Longfellow's Writings*, Riverside ed., vol. v, p. 216).

Some early lines by E. W. Bowling are quoted on p. 258 from the *Eagle*, vol. I. Bowling's dates are 1837—1907. Has Mr Kellett seen his collection *Sagittulae*?

I suggest the following new readings: on p. 261, 'Let me [too] stand at Dryden's, Byron's side?'—on p. 360, 'And [got] a slating: "Watch it two!'"—on p. 383, 'For each one sees [it] *plus* Himself.'

I will end by commending Mr Kellett's interesting collection to all Cambridge men who care for their University in the past as well as in the present.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

Poems of Clough. Edited by H. S. Milford. London: Frowde. 1910. 8vo. xiv + 247 pp.

This is not a complete edition of Clough's Poems, and no reason is assigned for its incompleteness. *Dipsychus* is a conspicuous absentee; *Mari magno* appears in a form discarded later. The notable features of the edition are as follows: the insertion of Clough's portion of *Ambarvalia* complete, with notes showing the alterations made in those pieces which were subsequently reprinted; notes to the *Bothie* showing the variations made from the first edition (in which the name was 'Toper-na-fuosich'), with some further alterations suggested by the poet himself; and a preface discussing the rhythm of Clough's hexameters. To this last attention may be drawn. Students will be glad to have the text of *Ambarvalia*, though the later selection seems to have been made with wise judgement, and they will welcome the opportunity of noting the changes made in the *Bothie*; but they will probably turn first and foremost to see what the editor says about metre.

He defines our ordinary hexameter as 'a stress-rhythm moving in triple time'; differing, therefore, from the classical hexameter, the equivalent of which he oddly states to be *duple* time—surely this should be *quadruple* time, since the measure of a true dactyl or spondee was admittedly | 1 2 3 4 |. If 'stress-rhythm' means merely that the characteristic feature of our ordinary hexameter is accent and not quantity, the definition is of course just; if it means that syllable-stresses can do more than punctuate an already existing rhythm, it cannot be accepted. The movement of our ordinary 'hexameter' line is unquestionably in triple time, and syllable-stress is the means used (as in all native English verse) to signalize and make obvious this movement. Clough professedly experimented with the metre, and some of his experiments have become bones of contention to critics. One is the famous line, twice quoted in this preface:

With a mathematical score, hangs out at Inverary.

Of this it may be said that the whole difficulty lies in the first two words. Were they replaced by one stressed syllable, such as 'huge,' no one would hesitate to scan:

| Húge mathe- | mátical | scóre, hangs | oút at | Ínver- | áry.

Is it not probable that Clough was simply crowding four syllables into his first foot, as he does once or twice elsewhere at the beginning of a line, and fairly often in other feet[1]? The alternative is to find anacrusis in these first two words, reading:

With a | máthe- | mátical | scóre etc.

The objection to this is not so much the weak first foot—for such weak feet are common enough with him—as that anacrusis seems studiously eschewed by Clough, amid all his other licence; he very rarely, that is, prefixes light syllables to a line otherwise possessing its full complement of syllables and stresses, though this liberty is habitually taken by native writers of 'dactylic' metre. There are many such lines in the *Bothie* as

And the great peaks look abroad over Skye to the westernmost islands;

there is not one, I think, framed on such a basis as

And the wonderful peaks look abroad....

This raises the question, discussed by Mr Milford, how far the seeming inversions of stress which occur in such a line as that just quoted—'And the greát'—are to be taken as real. He lays much stress on these. But it is clear that with Clough the sing-song rhythm counted for a good deal. In many of his lines stress-guidance fails entirely, in still more it is wavering and uncertain. Especially at the beginning of

[1] Compare, for example (IX, 21):
Do it like a man, Sir George, for pay in a livery stable.

lines is this obvious. Artificial stress is often laid on the first syllable by Clough, as by other writers of this metre; the very first line of the *Bothie* illustrates this, and there can be no inversion there. At the most, therefore, it seems wise to say merely that Clough leaves us the choice between sing-song and inversion; he never shuts us up definitely to the latter. He never, that I remember, writes such a line as he propounded to Conington:

| White | naked | feet on the | gleaming | floor of her | chamber,

a line which is metrical only if the first foot be made equal in duration to the others. He may have written such a line, with anacrusis added; the conditions prevent our saying so with certainty. Many of his lines can be read two ways, and most of them are to some extent conditioned by the sing-song rhythm.

Mr Milford admits that many lines are 'rough,' but he is confident that Clough relied mainly on speech-stress, and he believes that when our hexameter comes to be scientifically written, quantity 'will be, so to speak, counterpointed to' accent. It may be so; prediction is not for critics. But hitherto, in native English verse, quantity has never been more than the helpmeet of accent, has never been habitually opposed to it without disastrous or comic result. Those who essay such a task run the risk of sinning against the genius of our language; whether they can avoid it, time will show. Clough may have attempted this in the *Bothie*, since in his quantitative pieces he went still further; but the evidence is inconclusive. What is certain is that rhythm-accent and quantity are frequently divergent.

The book is well printed and bound, at moderate cost. Its text is not immaculate. In the *Alcaics* (p. 36) 'Trip' should be 'Trips,' and in 'Hope evermore and believe' (p. 62) the first line remains uncorrected, as in other editions. Evidently it should run 'e'en as thy thought is,' but the last word somehow got left out. The preface has some excellent remarks on the weakness of lines by Arnold, Longfellow, and even Kingsley—perhaps rather hyper-critical with regard to the line quoted from the last-named—but it would not be difficult to cite from Clough lines equally defective. Yet there is more to be learnt from him than from the others, just because he wrote by ear rather than by rule. I cordially agree that the true English hexameter has yet to be written, and that valuable hints for it may be got from the *Bothie* and the *Amours de Voyage*. We are promised a new handling of the metre this year, from the pen of Mr H. B. Cotterill; it will be interesting to see whether he emulates Clough's freedom and scorn of pedantry. These, combined with a more scientific prosody, may yet give us, not a copy of, but a worthy equivalent for, the Homeric hexameter.

T. S. Omond.

Tunbridge Wells.

Beowulf and the Finnsburg Fragment. A translation into Modern English Prose. By JOHN CLARK HALL. Second Edition. London: Sonnenschein. 1911. 8vo. lxvi + 287 pp.

A second and revised edition of Dr Clark Hall's translation of Beowulf is welcome, for it is probably the best working translation that we have, while it is enriched by a valuable introduction and excellent appendices. The translation has been carefully revised, and the alterations are almost uniformly in the direction of greater accuracy and precision. It is perhaps to be regretted that the translator is less conservative as to the text than he was in the first edition. He adheres less closely to his foundation-text, that of Wyatt, and is inclined to accept a good many of the conjectures which have been so freely offered by later editors and commentators. The chief example of this is in the Finn episode where the interpretation is changed almost entirely.

The translation is at times marred by the use of modern technical terms which give misleading renderings of the Old English word, e.g. 'borough' for 'burh' (523), 'subaltern' for 'cniht' (535) and for 'scealc' (940). 'Bower' is not happy as a rendering of 'bur' (1311) and 'salamander' is scarcely applicable to the fiery dragon (2689). In Old English similes 'gelicost' should be translated by the positive: the superlative is the stereotyped form in Old English (985, 1609). 'Survivances of filing' (1032), 'sapient' (1400, 1475) are not happy; 'swine-figures' (1453) should be 'boar-figures' and so careful an archaeologist as Dr Hall should keep the plural 'hilts' (1614). 'Aeschere's dead' (1323) is too colloquial, 'winters' (1724) should be 'years,' while 'crowed' (2583) seems awkward as a translation of 'gealp.' There should be some uniformity in the anglicising of the plural of proper names—e.g., Ingwines (1319), Hetwaras (2363), Weders (2462), while 'Scyldings' for 'Scylfings' (2205) remains uncorrected.

In a few passages the translator seems to have misunderstood the original. In l. 988 'heardra' is surely gen. pl. dependent on 'nan,' in l. 2226 'fealh' is certainly 'penetrated,' not 'fell.' 'Đe' in l. 2638 is not the relative particle.

The appendix on 'things' mentioned in Beowulf has been happily enlarged, and both here and in his notes Dr Hall has made good use of modern archaeological work, more especially of the articles of the lamented Knut Stjerna. It is pleasant to know that we are soon to have an English translation of these articles as a whole. The Bibliography has been enlarged and brought up to date and misses very little. Chadwick's *Origin of the English Nation* should have been mentioned, as it throws much light on various episodes in Beowulf. The Notes are useful, and together with those of Dr Sedgefield furnish a commentary which has been long wanting to those English students who are unacquainted with German.

ALLEN MAWER.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

The Place-names of Lancashire, their origin and history. By H. C. Wyld, in collaboration with T. Oakes Hirst. London: Constable. 1911. 8vo. xxiv + 400 pp.

The joint authors of this work are to be congratulated upon the high measure of success to which they have attained, under difficult circumstances. In the case of more southern counties, much assistance can often be had from Anglo-Saxon charters and early documents; but in the case of Lancashire, the preliminary task of ascertaining the oldest spellings of the place-names, without which no success is possible except in obvious examples, is a difficult and perplexing one. This part of the work devolved chiefly upon Dr Hirst, who had to make the best of the existing documents, and to supply by patience and industry the requisite but even now too scanty materials. The mere labour of compiling a copious index of the modern names found in the ordnance map must have been considerable in the case of so large a county; but this was only a small part of the task. Much more time was necessarily taken up by searching the texts of the various chartularies, surveys, rolls, and other records. What is still lacking is due to the sheer absence of materials for the earliest period. It is always desirable to find an example of the use of a place-name before 1300, and if possible, before 1200; and this is the very thing that in this case cannot always be had. But it is obvious that no pains have been spared.

Dr Wyld is responsible for the book as it now stands, which has benefited largely from the fact that he well understands the phonetic laws that govern the spelling of names in Anglo-Saxon and Early English times. He has made the best of the materials at hand, and has interpreted them, where interpretation is possible, with carefulness and skill; though of course he has frequently been obliged, by lack of evidence, to make the best he could of the rather numerous cases where nothing very tangible can be ascertained. Speaking generally, the book could not have been in better hands, and a large number of the results may safely be accepted. And this, indeed, is the most that can be said of books upon place-names generally.

There is a valuable enumeration, in Part II, of the personal and descriptive elements that usually compose the place-name. One very interesting descriptive element is given under 'hærg,' frequently written 'hearg,' which was the old word for 'a heathen temple' before the Northern 'kirk' and the Southern 'church' became general. Names containing this element are, we are told at p. 337, the following:—Anglezark, Goosnargh, Grimsargh, Harrowslack, Kellamergh, Medlar, Sholver, and Torver. Harrowslack we fail to find, and Sholver is doubtful. The rest probably mean, respectively, Anlaf's temple (this seems certain), Gosa's temple, Grim's temple, Kelfgrim's temple, Middle temple, and Thorulf's temple. Medlar goes back to about 1200, in the form Midelare, but must have been far older, very much older, than the 'Middle Temple' in London. In the twenty-one examples of Goosnargh,

the h of 'hargh' is dropped in all but one; but Gosenhar occurs also, in 1258, in the Inquisitiones post Mortem, I, 17, no. 13.

Among the names of undoubted origin may be mentioned, as examples, the following. Abram is 'Eadburg's home,' just as Babraham, Cambs., is 'Badburg's home.' Adgarley was once, not 'Eadgar's lea,' but 'Eadgar's hlith or slope.' Ainsdale is 'Einulf's dale,' the name Einulf or Eginulf being Norse. Amonderness is 'Agmund's ness'; the 'er-' representing the Norse genitive suffix '-ar.' Arnside was once 'Arnulf's head.' Audley has no old form; but it was doubtless of the same origin as the Audley in Staffordshire, and therefore means 'Aldgyth's lea,' the name Aldgyth being feminine. The Audley End in Essex has quite a modern name, as it was merely the residence of Thomas, Lord Audley, in the time of Henry VIII. Bold and Bootle are the same word, representing the A.S. 'bold' and 'botl' respectively, the former being a more familiar form of the latter, just as 'neeld' was used for 'needle.' Both words mean 'building'; indeed, the verb 'to build' is derived from this very form 'bold.' Breightmet means 'bright mead'; the change from the final d to t is puzzling, but I think it was due to lack of stress; compare 'abbot' for A.S. 'abbod,' 'tilt' (of a cart) for 'tild,' 'want' (a mole) for 'wand,' and 'truant' for the Old French 'truand.' The voiceless final letter requires less time for utterance.

In a few cases, it might be advisable to treat the forms of the genitive cases with greater strictness. For example, Alston can hardly be 'the town of Alla,' because the genitive of Alla is Allan. It is better to write Ælle, which makes the genitive Ælles.

Bedford involves Bedan, the genitive of Beda; this is preferable to referring it to Bædd, with the genitive Bæddes. In Bastwell, the case is exactly contrary; the old prefix was Baddes, representing the genitive of Bædd, which is distinct from Baddan, the genitive of Badda. In the same way, we should expect Pilsworth to be from a nominative Pill, in spite of the fact that Pill has not been recorded. Tilberthwaite was written as Tildesburgethwaite in 1196; which seems to represent 'Tild's borough-thwait' rather than, as at p. 250, 'the thwait of Tildburg'; and in fact Tildburg would have to be feminine, with a genitive in -e. Toppinrays is explained as 'the cairn of Toppa, or of Toppi'; it should rather be the former (gen. Toppan) than the latter (gen. Toppes). Waltone was formerly Waletone, rightly explained as 'the town of the foreigners'; it may be well to add that Wale really represents 'weala,' the genitive plural of 'wealh,' since many readers may not know what the genitive plural form was. Witton, formerly Whiteton, is explained as 'White, or White's Town'; it is rather 'Hwita's town.' Wolfal was once Wulfhal, which is simply a compound word, viz. 'wolf-nook.' Wolvemore is exactly 'wulfa mōr,' wolves' moor. Woolton, formerly Ulventone (D. B.) is precisely 'Wulfa's town,' as Wulfan is the genitive of Wulfa; not 'the town of Wulf,' for that would give Woolston.

Worsley was once Wykerdley, which is hard to explain, and it is no earlier than 1219; if it is possible for the k to have arisen from the ch

in Wic-heard (a recorded name), the sense might be 'Wic-heard's lea.' Knowsley is interpreted as Cenulfes læh. Here Cenulf is not the same as Cynewulf, but is rather Cenwulf or Coenwulf, quite a distinct name. One Cenwulf was the father of the St Kenelm (i.e., Cenhelm) mentioned by Chaucer; where father and son (as often) had the same prefix in their names.

But all these are comparatively small matters, and can easily be amended, if indeed it be necessary. It is best to say, in a word, that no student of place-names can possibly dispense with this most valuable work.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

CAMBRIDGE.

La Vita Nuova di Dante. Per cura di MICHELE SCHERILLO. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1911. 8vo. lxi + 383 pp. *La Stessa,* con 18 riproduzioni di quadri o disegni o sculture di D. G. Rossetti, W. Kaulbach, G. Induno, H. Holiday, D. Sodini, M. Rieder, R. Sorbi, R. Mantovani-Gritti. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1911. 4to. lxi + 388 pp.

Signor Ulrico Hoepli, whose well-known publishing house in Milan has recently celebrated its fortieth anniversary, has issued a handsome quarto reprint, as an *édition de luxe*, with eighteen illustrations, of Professor Michele Scherillo's edition of the *Vita Nuova* of Dante, which was published earlier in the year as a volume in the *Biblioteca Classica Hoepliana.*

Of Professor Scherillo's work it is sufficient to say that, embodying as it does the results of the most recent researches—his own among the number—and of the critical labours of his predecessors, it is likely to rank for some time to come as the standard 'édition classique' of Dante's earliest prose work. The text is in the main that of Barbi, which was published four years ago by the Società Dantesca Italiana, and is accepted by Dantists as practically definitive. Such few departures from Barbi's text as he has felt called upon to make, Professor Scherillo has explained and discussed in a preliminary note.

Besides an interesting introduction, there are included in the volume several lengthy dissertations in the form of appendices under the title of 'illustrazioni e discussioni.' The most important of these is that on 'Il nome della Beatrice,' in which, arguing from Provençal analogies—it is generally admitted that the *Vita Nuova* owes much to Provençal influence—Professor Scherillo concludes that the name Beatrice was selected by Dante as the 'senhal' under which to conceal the identity of the real object of his devotion, namely the daughter of Folco Portinari, whose actual name was Bice.

In another of these essays Professor Scherillo deals with the theory propounded fifty years ago by the late Professor Charles Eliot Norton as to the symmetrical structure of the *Vita Nuova*—a theory which was elaborated in a very interesting manner, but with somewhat

fantastic results, by the late Professor Earle, not altogether to Norton's satisfaction, in an article in the *Quarterly Review* for July 1896. Professor Scherillo sets out to discredit the whole theory. He certainly has no difficulty in showing that some of the crucial data upon which it was based were faulty; and in the light of his searching criticism it must be confessed that the theory, the germ of which apparently originated with Gabriele Rossetti, as hitherto presented can hardly any longer be regarded as unassailable[1].

It is a pity that in this reissue of Professor Scherillo's work the opportunity was not taken to correct one or two glaring misprints in the original edition, such for instance as 'Witte' (for 'White') on p. xlviii, and '*Quaterly*' on p. 363. Also a few defects in the brief bibliography might have been rectified. For example, in the list of editions, the latest issue of the Oxford Dante (that of 1904), in which several important emendations have been introduced in the text of the *Vita Nuova*, should have been substituted for that of 1897; and in the list of translations, that of Rossetti should certainly have found a place.

Of the eighteen illustrations with which the quarto edition is adorned, eleven are from paintings or drawings by Rossetti. Most of these have been reproduced in Italy within the last few years in other illustrated editions of the *Vita Nuova*. One of them, however, is comparatively little known, and is a welcome addition to the series, though strictly speaking it has no direct connection with the *Vita Nuova*. This is the picture known as 'The Boat of Love,' from the Sonnet ('Guido, vorrei che tu, e Lapo, ed io') addressed by Dante to Guido Cavalcanti—one of the poems which had to be rejected by Dante as not falling into the scheme of his 'libello.' Of this subject (for a picture from which a commission was given to the artist by Ruskin) three drawings at long intervals were made by Rossetti—one in water-colour (c. 1855), another in pencil (c. 1864), and a third in grisaille (c. 1874). From the last of these, which is a large unfinished canvas, and, like the pencil drawing, is now in the Birmingham Art Gallery, the present illustration seems to have been taken.

Of the other seven plates, one is from the well-known picture by Holiday in the Walker Art Gallery at Liverpool, which we would willingly have exchanged for Rossetti's 'Denial of the Salutation of Beatrice'; and the rest are from drawings (or, in one case, sculpture) by Italian and German artists. These are all more or less pleasing in themselves, but they are not exactly in harmony with the Rossetti designs, the widely different types of Beatrice being especially incongruous. We may observe that one of the drawings—a pretty piece of composition—that by Marcello Rieder, is at variance with the text which it professes to illustrate, namely 'Dante deriso' (§ xiv). The incident as related by Dante takes place indoors ('nella magione'),

[1] A vigorous defence of Norton's position against Scherillo's criticisms, which originally appeared in a slightly different form ten years ago in the *Giornale Dantesco*, was published by Kenneth McKenzie in Vol. XVIII, No. 3 of *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.

whereas the artist depicts Dante seated in a grove of pines with the mocking ladies grouped among the trees.

However, these few slight blemishes apart, we can heartily commend these volumes alike to the student of Dante and to the lover of pretty books.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.

The Forerunners of Dante. A Selection from Italian Poetry before 1300. Edited by A. J. BUTLER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. 8vo. xxxv + 262 pp.

Professor Butler, in his very suggestive and interesting preface, claims for the Italian poets of the thirteenth century that 'they, with Dante, seem to represent for Italy all that it has ever to show of truly *poetical* poetry—the poetry which thrills and not merely delights.' We are disposed to rank Italian poetry as a whole considerably higher than he did, and think to find this authentic thrill at times in almost every century of Italian literature, from Petrarch himself to Carducci. But, in any case, the late Professor's fine appreciation of Dante's predecessors and earlier contemporaries—the poets of the Sicilian school, Fra Guittone and his followers, and the singers of the *dolce stil nuovo*—gives a special interest to his selection, while it imparts a fresh and individual note to his commentary. It is manifest that these early poets were living artistic personalities to Professor Butler, and he communicates this feeling to his readers. Such a book as this has long been needed by English students of early Italian.

The volume contains seventy-one pieces, including all the extant Italian poems (other than those of Dante himself) that are cited in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, and constitutes an admirably representative collection of canzoni and canzonette from Piero delle Vigne to the earlier work of Cino da Pistoia. We miss the well-known canzone of King Enzo, *Amor mi fa sovente lo meo core pensare.* Professor Butler's scheme presumably excludes laude, as well as ballate and sonnets (he admits three ballate, however); otherwise the *cantico del Sole* of St Francis and something of Frate Jacopone da Todi would no doubt have been given. The latter's *Che farai Pier da Morrone*, at least, falls within the chronological limits, besides affording a most illuminating commentary upon the 'gran rifiuto' of *Inf.* iii, 60. Lapo Gianni is unrepresented, in spite of his place in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*; but his life, like that of Cino, extended considerably beyond the end of the thirteenth century, and his most characteristic pieces, such as the ballata and sonetto rinterzato translated by Rossetti, though probably written before 1300, are not in the canzone mould. Of the poets represented, Guido Cavalcanti is the only one who is not seen at his best in canzoni; the peculiar charm and power of the first of Dante's friends can only be fully realised in his ballate. The high

estimation of his rather dreary *Donna mi prega perch' eo voglio dire* expressed by Dante in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* made it imperative that this too-famous canzone should be given here, instead of the far more poetical *Io non pensava che lo cor giammai.* Guido's other piece cited by Dante, *Poichè di doglia cor convien ch' io porti,* is regarded by Professor Butler as an irregular poem of two stanzas; but there is much to be said for the view of Cavalcanti's editor, Pietro Ercole, that it is in reality a fairly regular single stanza of a canzone, with two *pedes* and a *cauda,* following the scheme of rhymes: ABBC, ABBC, DEeFfGG. The isolated stanza is, of course, frequently used as an independent composition by the poets of the Duecento, and we have two examples by Dante himself: *Sì lungamente m'ha tenuto amore* (*V. N.* 28), and *Madonna quel signor che voi portate* (erroneously printed in Fraticelli and the Oxford Dante as a ballata).

Professor Butler has naturally preferred to construct his own text throughout, especially from the edition of the Vatican MS. 3793 (*il libro de varie romanze volgare*) published diplomatically by the Società Filologica Romana, the Chigian MS. edited by Monaci and Molteni in the *Propugnatore,* Monaci's invaluable *Crestomazia,* and the earlier collections. It seems, however, rather an extreme measure so completely to ignore the excellent editions of certain individual poets, or groups of poets, that have appeared in Italy: works such as those of Tommaso Casini on the early Bolognese poets, Pietro Ercole on Guido Cavalcanti, Flaminio Pellegrini on Fra Guittone d' Arezzo (still in course of publication), and Amos Parducci on Bonagiunta Orbicciani and other 'rimatori lucchesi' of the thirteenth century. We miss, too, any reference to studies like those of Francesco Torraca on the lyrists of the Sicilian school, and Francesco D' Ovidio on the *contrasto* of Cielo Dalcamo. A good edition of Cino da Pistoia is still lacking; but it is not quite the case that his canzone, *Degno son io ch' io mora,* is not found in any of the printed collections save that of Villarosa (p. 259); it occurs in all the editions of Cino from Pilli to Bindi and Fanfani. Nevertheless, the text that Professor Butler gives us of these poets is, in the main, a sound and good one. The notes are brief and to the point, stimulating even where they invite dissent, and invariably excellent reading. They do not profess to solve every difficulty nor to explain every word, the student being very properly left to find out a good deal for himself. Professor Butler's critical appreciation of the individual poems in his selection is always interesting and generally convincing. He rightly lays stress upon the simplicity and pathos of the *Giammai non mi conforto* of Rinaldo d' Aquino, surely one of the most perfect lyrics in all literature, and on the beauty and poignant sincerity of the *Morte perchè m' dài fatta sì gran guerra* of Giacomino Pugliese, in which 'the poetry of the early period seems to reach its culminating point' (p. 170). Fra Guittone he regards as a poet unduly depreciated, one 'whose mind seems to have been to a great extent cast in the same mould as Dante's own' (p. 218). Excellent, too, is his criticism of the five canzoni that he gives of Guido Guinizelli, though

we are a little doubtful whether he has always adopted the best readings of the Bolognese poet's masterpiece, *Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore*. In the fifth line of the fifth stanza, for instance (p. 129), where the poet speaks of the obedience to God of the celestial intelligences, instead of *com' segue*, it is surely better to read *consegue*:

> E consegue al primero
> del giusto Dio beato compimento;

the allusion being to the familiar theological doctrine of the Schoolmen (to which Dante himself refers in *Par.* xxix, 58—66) that the faithful Angels, by a single act of obedience, merited eternal bliss and at once attained perfection, immediately after their creation. We are glad to find Professor Butler dismissing as 'intolerably grotesque' the notion, favoured by several other scholars, that the *donna* at the opening of the last stanza is addressed by God to the soul, instead of by the poet to his lady.

A brief note at the end of the preface tells us that the book 'lacks the author's finishing touches,' and 'the proofs have had to be corrected by other hands.' Here and there we notice slips that would no doubt have caught the author's eye, had he been spared to revise his work. We may recognise as such the statements that Dante frequently uses the word *gente*, instead of *gentile*, in his lyrics (p. 157), or that Benvenuto da Imola knew Bonagiunta Orbicciani personally (p. 239), and the retention of the erroneous reading *monna Bice*, instead of *monna Lagia*, in the sonnet *Guido i' vorrei* (p. 254). The assertion that Lorenzo de' Medici's selection of early Italian poems, the 'Raccolta Aragonese,' has disappeared (p. xviii), only applies to the original manuscript of the Magnifico; at least one copy has been preserved. An unfortunate misprint, *fero* for *altero*, has crept into the third line of Cavalcanti's *Donna mi prega* (p. 133). The unnamed editor, whose pious hands have brought the volume through the press, has performed an exceedingly difficult task in a highly creditable fashion.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

LONDON.

Le Troubadour Folquet de Marseille. Edition critique, notes et glossaire. Par S. STRONSKI. Cracovie: Académie des Sciences, 1911. 8vo. xiii + 145 + 285 pp.

Trobador Poets. Selections from the Poems of Eight Trobadors. Translated from the Provençal, with Introduction and Notes, by BARBARA SMYTHE. London: Chatto and Windus, 1911. 8vo. xxiii + 198 pp.

Poésies du Troubadour Marcabru. Par J. M. L. DEJEANNE. (*Bibliothèque méridionale.*) Toulouse: Ed. Privat, 1909. 8vo. xii + 295 pp.

Sentiment inclines us to wish that the University of Toulouse had produced this first critical edition of the poems of one from whom the town suffered much, but to whom it owes something. Folquet the

troubadour, the bishop of Toulouse, the fierce opponent of the Albigenses and the first Inquisitor, was also a founder of the University of Toulouse: but the name of M. Jeanroy is so far associated with this book as to assure us that this University has not been unmindful of her notorious bishop. M. Stronski has chosen to concentrate his labours upon a most interesting personality and the result is a very satisfactory volume; we must first call attention to the introduction in which he propounds certain views concerning the nature of troubadour life and love for which he makes out a strong case where Folquet is concerned, but which will probably be regarded as revolutionary by those who have devoted any study to Provençal literature and history.

The fiction of the 'Courts of Love' now survives only in the books of travels and 'wanderings' in Southern France which uninformed tourists occasionally produce. These works usually refer also to the picturesque figure of the troubadour wandering from court to court, enjoying the patronage and lavish bounty of the nobles and the illicit affection of their wives. M. Stronski insists that the results of historical research and the dictates of common sense oblige us to reduce this romantic figure to colouring much more prosaic. Folquet combined the functions of merchant and troubadour and the incompatibility of these pursuits exists only in the imagination of certain critics who are reluctant to allow a troubadour so vulgar an occupation as trade. But the facts seem clear that Folquet never made any lengthy stay at courts outside Marseilles, that he kept at least two jongleurs in his service who published his songs elsewhere and that his rapid rise in the Church after his entrance upon monastic life must have been greatly accelerated by the large fortune which his conversion brought to the Church. This fortune if not acquired, was increased by his conduct of his father's business with Genoa and other Mediterranean ports. We have, then, an unusual figure in troubadour portraiture; a shrewd man of business, occupied for the most part with affairs, but ready to relieve the tedium of them by 'dropping into verse,' as his inclinations or the social and political events of the time might prompt him. To quote M. Stronski: 'La poésie n'était qu'un à-côté, un divertissement, auquel il paraît s'être livré passionnement et assidûment, mais qui ne fut point son passe-temps unique, ni son gagne-pain.'

Of greater importance is M. Stronski's treatment of the second point, Folquet's love adventures and intrigues with Azalais, the wife of his lord Barral of Marseilles, and with the empress Eudoxie, the wife of Guillaume of Montpellier. These stories rest upon the authority of the biography and the *razos* to individual poems and the historical value of this testimony is absolutely rejected by M. Stronski's analysis: 'il ne nous reste pour reconstituer l'histoire amoureuse de Folquet absolument rien: aucun nom, aucun fait, ceux de l'ancienne biographie étant de pures inventions.' Hence a different view must be taken of the intention of the troubadour's poems; far from being intimate and personal confessions, they are laborious attempts at psychological analysis without foundation in reality. 'Ce n'est pas à des expressions

d'amour que nous avons affaire, c'est à des observations sur l'amour.' The same statement will hold good with regard to similar stories in other cases, if the evidence is thoroughly sifted, and the whole system and theory of 'amour courtois' must be revised. Generally speaking, there is no connection demonstrable between poets and ladies, for the simple reason that the ladies of the poems are, as a rule, purely imaginary figures. The case of a troubadour inspired to sing the praises of a particular lady-love is possible, but quite exceptional, nor, unfortunately, can such cases be recognised on the evidence of the poems in question, and the less so, because 'realism' and 'sincerity' have always been strong elements in artistic success and may therefore be found in every poem in greater or less perfection. The success of a poem was not necessarily assured by addressing it to a lady in the audience: its expression and ideas needed only to conform to the tastes of the audience. Hence these poems went the round of many courts and their circulation was not restricted to one. If Folquet sang at the court of Barral of Marseilles or at that of Guillaume of Montpellier, this does not prove that he loved their wives; it proves, on the contrary, that there was nothing between him and them. Otherwise these songs would never have been tolerated, unless we are prepared to assert that the age of the troubadours is not to be judged by the principles of common sense. Common sense requires us to suppose that Folquet's poems were recited and circulated without injury to the feelings of Sir Barral or to the peace of mind of the troubadour's worthy wife. Had it been otherwise, hundreds of troubadours and thousands of poems would never have existed as they did. M. Stronski thus arrives, though by a very different route, at conclusions upon the erotic element similar to those propounded by Wechssler, *Das Kulturproblem des Minnesangs* (chaps. viii—x). The problem is too large for discussion here; we may note however, that the next generation or so seems to have interpreted Folquet's poems very literally. The 'Anonimo Veneto' refers to 'De Marselha Folquetz qui se rancura E per l' afans d' amor se plora' (Monaci, *Chrest.*, col. 117); so Terramagnino da Pisa, 'Folquetz...qui dis sobre tots chantars amoros' (*ibid.*, col. 10). Raimon Vidal in his *novela*, *En aquel temps c'om era iais* quotes from Folquet's 'Amors, merce' and refers to him as 'En Folquet l'amoros,' an almost Homeric use of the epithet. M. Stronski might have given us his opinion on these passages.

M. Stronski devotes a chapter to Folquet's ecclesiastical career. His arguments to show that Folquet's conversion was not an unlikely event are convincing; but something might also have been said upon the likelihood that Folquet was ambitious. If he wished to enter upon a political career, the Church was the only avenue open to a man of his birth. The statement (p. 89) that Folquet 'entraîna avec lui sa femme et ses deux fils' seems to imply a reluctance on the part of his family for which there is no evidence; it was an ancient rule of the Church that a husband could not take monastic vows without the consent of his wife who must likewise enter a nunnery; only adultery on the part of the wife could release the husband from this obligation (Gratian,

Caus. XXVII, Q. ii, c. 21). M. Stronski gives a summary of Folquet's movements previous to and during the Albigeois crusade; this part of his book might well have been more detailed. It is of interest, for example, to note that in November, 1208, Folquet was sent by the pope with two other commissioners to settle certain disturbances in the monastery of St Victor at Marseilles, where the monks had revolted against their prior; probably it was as a native of the town that Folquet was chosen for his duty. The *confrérie blanche* was founded to repress usury as well as heresy. In 1217 Folquet preached the crusade in France with the help of Jacques de Vitry, bishop of Liège. According to Catel (*Mémoires*, p. 897) he met in Liège 'cette saincte dame, Marie de Oegniez' of whom Jacques de Vitry wrote a life which he dedicated to Folquet. From his preface 'rapportée par Surius en la vie des saincts dont on célèbre la feste au mois de May,...nous pouvons recueillir le contentement et l'admiration que nostre Foulques eust de parler avec cette saincte Dame.' The opinion of Folquet given in the preface was worth at least a word of mention by M. Stronski.

M. Stronski has no difficulty in showing the identity of the troubadour and the bishop, to which question he devotes a chapter. The attribution and genuineness of the poems under Folquet's name is also discussed very thoroughly. An excellent chapter is that upon Folquet's poetical art: his many reminiscences of classical authors are shown to be derived from collections of aphorisms and 'florilegia' rather than from any wide range of reading. The imitation of Terence in XIV, 39: 'a man should mirror himself in the failings of others and so guard himself from falling' is also found in Bertran de Born's *planh* on the young king Henry and in Giraut de Bornelh's *Los apleitz*. M. Stronski probably could not find room to mention every coincidence or imitation of this kind; but this particular metaphor is so widely used as to be worth notice: it may be found in Dante, *Par.*, XXX, 113; Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec*, 438 and not only often in mediæval poetry, but much later; Chaucer, *Man of Laws Tale*, 166; Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act V, Sc. i; *Julius Cæsar*, Act I, Sc. ii; Calderon, *La Cisma de Inglaterra*, I, iv; Schiller, *Wallenstein*, l. 468; Xavier de Maistre, *Voyage autour de ma chambre*, chap. 27, and probably in many other places.

The problem of Folquet's position in Dante's *Paradiso* is dismissed by M. Stronski as follows: 'Dante, qui admirait beaucoup les chansons amoureuses de Folquet, lui assigne une place dans le ciel de Venus parmi les "spiriti amanti"; se souvenant de ses appels à la croisade, c'est par son discours que Dante stigmatise l'oubli dans lequel était tombée la cause du Saint Sépulchre: enfin, ayant certainement connu, par les plus anciens textes dominicains, le rôle de Folquet dans la fondation de l'ordre de Saint Dominique, basé sur l'idée de pauvreté et d'abnégation, il met dans sa bouche une invective vigoureuse contre les préoccupations mondaines du clergé.' The first reason is probable enough, though the supposed reminiscence of Folquet's phraseology in 'Più non arse la figlia di Belo' is especially likely to descend from Virgil's 'Caeco carpitur igni,' 'uritur infelix' and the like. As to

the second reason, there were other troubadours equally well qualified. The third reason raises the crux of the whole matter: did Dante know or remember Folquet's share in the Albigeois crusade, and why does he conjoin Folquet with Rahab? Zingarelli's idea, that, as Rahab helped the Israelites to take Jericho, so Folquet helped the crusaders to take Lavaur is highly ingenious; but Dante nowhere, so far as we are aware, makes any mention of the Albigeois heresy or crusade. Raimon of Toulouse is mentioned in the *Convito*, IV, 11, but only as an example of liberality. The heresy was largely a poor man's heresy and Dante no doubt was an aristocrat. M. Stronski says in a note to p. 112, 'si Dante connaît la double carrière de Folquet, il ne s'appuie que sur la vida'; i.e., the Provençal biography. We are inclined, in view of Dante's silence concerning the most active part of Folquet's life, to regard this statement as correct; in which case Zingarelli's explanation is wrong and the difficulty of Rahab's appearance at this point remains unsolved. It is, however, a difficulty which arises from the apparent incongruity of her association with Folquet and it might be reasonably asserted that she would appear incongruous in almost any other connection.

M. Stronski has obviously expended much labour upon the constitution of the texts of the poems and with excellent results. Folquet is not so difficult as Giraut de Bornelh, but none the less, his poems contain some troublesome passages. In M. Stronski's, no. III, l. 41—48 are far from clear: the sense which his translation gives to mescladamens does not seem apposite. Comparing the passage with IX, 3, where a similar conceit appears, one is strongly tempted to read, e viu e muer mescladamens, though the MSS. do not support the omission of aissi. M. Stronski was unable to compare N for this poem, but that MS. throws no light on this passage. In view of his note on V, 13, he may be interested to hear that N reads quen rete. The few misprints have been noted in the corrigenda at the end of the book: but surely in no. XV, the colon should follow line 39 instead of line 38?

The few points we have touched upon are but trifling. M. Stronski has produced an excellent and most interesting edition of a most interesting troubadour.

In her well printed and agreeably bound little volume Miss Smythe gives translations from the poems of the Count of Poitou, Jaufre Rudel, Bernart of Ventadorn, Bertran de Born, Arnaut Daniel, Giraut de Bornelh, Peire Vidal and Guilhem de Cabestanh, each selection being preceded by a notice of the life of the 'trobador' concerned. There is also a general introduction, which deals very sensibly with the conditions under which troubadour poetry was produced. Some of the translations are in verse, others in prose. It is not clear what purpose Miss Symthe expects the latter to serve; they may be useful as a crib for the beginner, but when the metrical form of a poem is gone, little remains except dry bones, and in the case of the troubadours, to whom form was everything, the osseous residuum is occasionally very dry. In her metrical translations, Miss Smythe has essayed the very

difficult task of preserving the metre and often the rime-scheme of the originals. English is an unsatisfactory language into which to translate Provençal, from the lack of a technical *courtois* vocabulary, with which German, thanks to the Minnesingers, is better provided, and the poverty of English rimes is a yet more serious obstacle. Miss Smythe emerges from the struggle as successfully as anyone can hope to do who loads himself with so heavy a handicap. A couple of stanzas from the Count of Poitou's *Farai chansoneta nueva* will serve as a specimen:

1. Now a ballad new I'll make me
Ere the winter overtake me;
My beloved seeks to break me
Of my love—she doubts it's true.
But no word from her can shake me,
Never my bondage shall I rue.

2. To her power myself I've given,
May my chains be never riven,
'Tis no sin to be forgiven
That I love my lady true.
I should die if from her driven,
Hungering for her as I do.

With this it may be interesting to compare Miss Costello's translation (Oxenford's *Book of French Songs*), early Victorian in style and less near to the original:

1. Anew I tune my lute to love,
Ere storms disturb the tranquil hour,
For her who strives my truth to prove,
My only pride and beauty's flower,
Who will ne'er my pain remove,
Who knows and triumphs in her power.

2. I am, alas, her willing thrall,
She may record me as her own;
Nor my devotion weakness call,
That her I prize and her alone.
Without her can I live at all.
A captive so accustomed grown?

Miss Smythe's translations are accurate and are based upon the critical editions of the troubadours, where such editions exist. Apparently she has not seen Jeanroy's edition of the Count of Poitou's poems (*Annales du Midi*, 1905), where a less agreeable but more probable explanation of the last stanza of the 'Enigma' is to be found, and a note on 'fadatz' (stanza II of the same poem) which is worth attention. 'Peleus' weapon' p. 51 requires a larger note. Parts III and IV of Kolsen's Giraut de Bornelh which appeared too late for Miss Smythe to use them, contain better texts and more plausible renderings than those which she has had at her disposal. Her book, however, is a careful and interesting piece of work and those ignorant of Provençal but interested in troubadours may gain from it some idea of the nature of troubadour poetry.

Dr Dejeanne whose death on February 15, 1909, was a cause of regret to all *provençalistes*, had devoted particular attention to the

troubadours of Gascony, his own district, and had published editions of Cercamon and Alegret marked by wide dialectical knowledge and much ingenuity in dealing with obscure passages. These qualities are equally apparent in his edition of Marcabru, to which M. Jeanroy has added a preface explaining the fact that Dr Dejeanne was very far from regarding this edition as final. Marcabru is a troubadour whose poems bristle with difficult words and obscure passages and the labours of his editor are not lightened by the fact that his poems are preserved in comparatively few manuscripts. Consequently the notes of interrogation scattered about the editor's translation are frequent. Space would fail us to discuss a tithe of these passages, but one or two conjectures may be hazarded. The translation of no. XII *bis*, 39 does not show the metaphorical sense of 'pelar' and 'tondre' (Zenker, *Folquet de Romans*, note to XII, 1). The well-known 'starling' song which Peire d'Alvernhe imitated, contains several difficulties. In the first of the two halves, no. XXV, l. 66; bad e mus | qui.ll vol plus | c'a raüs | part de la fraia, the last word is unintelligible. Dr Dejeanne translates 'qu'il reste bouche bée et muse, celui qui veut davantage; avec fracas elle le chasse et ne lui permet plus de frayer avec elle.' Possibly traia (trahie) should be read; 'with uproar he leaves the lady he has betrayed,' into thinking him to be an honest friend. In XXVI, the reply brought by the starling, l. 37 could be improved by reading l'autr'am ieu | lo vueill mieu | que badieu, when the syntax becomes clearer to the end of the stanza than it now is. A considerable puzzle is the passage from l. 49, so.l diguatz | qu'en un glatz | lev'e jatz, | desiratz | er l'abatz | ans asatz | que n'ajam lezensa. 'Dis-lui ceci; il se lève et se couche dans un glaçon (il est froid comme glace); l'abbé sera désiré (retenu) [?] pourvu que nous ayons tout loisir.' Thus Dr Dejeanne, whose note says that the passage is unintelligible to him; he proposes desidatz, 'l'abbé sera réveillé, mais nous aurons le loisir nécessaire,' which does not explain the subjunctive. Obviously, the lady, who is very impartial in the distribution of her favours, is ready to meet her lover and gives him an assignation in the following stanza; but the abbot is in the way. If we read asasatz (rassasié) instead of ans asatz and place a semicolon after desiratz, we may translate 'tell him that he is cold (because separated from me), desired (by me) though he be; the abbot shall be satisfied, provided that we have time for it,' i.e., 'he can wait my convenience.' In XLII, l. 24 flaira fum qui non s'apreicha; 'il flaire la fumée celui qui ne s'approche pas (qui n'est pas près de la cuisine?)'; s'abricha, qui ne s'abrite pas, is but a small change and gives an easier meaning. There are numerous opportunities for conjecture throughout this edition, but Dr Dejeanne's interpretations are always ingenious and often plausible and he has done admirable service in paving the way for other commentators.

A troubadour no less difficult in many respects is Giraut de Bornelh; Kolsen's edition of his poems with the translation is now complete, but we reserve comment until the promised second volume of notes and appendices has appeared. Dr J. Beck whose *Troubadour-Melodien* was

reviewed in this Journal (vol. IV, p. 540) has brought out an interesting volume in French, *La musique des Troubadours* (in the *Musiciens Célèbres* series, Paris, Henri Laurens), which gives the results of his previous researches in more popular form. A word of praise should be given to the excellent facsimile illustrations.

H. J. Chaytor.

Plymouth.

Molière, his Life and his Works. By Brander Matthews. New York: Ch. Scribner's Sons, 1910. 8vo. x + 385 pp.

L'auteur s'est proposé trois buts: exposer les faits biographiques débarrassés de toutes les légendes qui les ont déformés, retracer l'évolution et le développement du génie dramatique de Molière, déterminer enfin les rapports qui lient l'auteur à son temps. Il a longtemps (près de quarante ans, dit-il dans son avant-propos) mûri son ouvrage, et ne semble pas le regretter: le sujet le méritait. Le lecteur ne le regrettera point davantage; il est, dès la première lecture, frappé, et content, de voir cette sobriété substantielle et toujours lucide, cette prudence équitable dans les jugements, ce discernement et ce soin à distinguer l'essentiel de l'accessoire et à proportionner le développement au sujet à traiter, enfin cette rédaction aisée, presque aussi variée dans les tours de phrase que dans le vocabulaire. C'est là un livre riche, sérieux, et de bonne compagnie, qui l'emporte sur un bon nombre de monographies estimables consacrées à notre grand auteur comique par les critiques français.

L'ouvrage est divisé en vingt et un chapitres, dont dix huit étudient chronologiquement les circonstances de la vie de Molière et les œuvres replacées au milieu d'elles; les trois derniers, intitulés L'homme, Le dramatiste, Molière and Shakespeare, forment un essai de critique littéraire proprement dite, une synthèse des conclusions particulières, fragmentaires, disséminées dans chacun des chapitres précédents.

C'est un livre de bibliothèque plutôt qu'un instrument de travail pour les chercheurs et les étudiants en histoire littéraire; pas de références, pas de notes, pas de bibliographie,—les seuls critiques que je me souviens avoir vu mentionner sont Nisard, Sainte-Beuve, Taine et Brunetière; il n'est fait aucune allusion aux travaux de Larroumet, MM. Lanson, Gendarme de Bévotte, Eug. Rigal, Huszar, etc.; cependant plusieurs d'entre eux ont été de quelque secours à M. B. Matthews. Toutes citations du texte de Molière, vers ou prose, ont été aussi systématiquement écartées, ce qui est, à coup sûr, le droit de l'auteur, mais ce qui sera regretté par plus d'un lecteur, même dans le public de langue non-française, auquel s'adresse M. B. Matthews.

C'est parce que le public visé est un public large, d'étrangers amateurs de littérature, de curieux de la France et du passé de la France, non un public de spécialistes, que nous sont données tant de pages, vraiment instructives, sur l'état politique et social du royaume,

de Paris, de la cour et de la ville, sur les différents mouvements littéraires du XVII^e siècle de 1630 à 1670; ces aperçus d'histoire qui donneraient au public français de culture équivalente l'impression du déjà vu sont ici fort utiles. Plus précises, plus particulières sont les indications données sur les rapports de chacune des pièces de Molière avec le genre de la comédie italienne. Rapprochements des évènements littéraires et des évènements politiques, des 'dates' de Molière et de celles des principaux écrivains d'autres pays, de ses procédés et de ceux des anciens, grecs ou latins, du moyen âge français ou des modernes italiens, espagnols ou anglais, de Molière et des autres auteurs de la littérature française nés à Paris, de la troupe de Molière et des autres compagnies de théâtre, tout prouve, avec une longue expérience de l'enseignement, une lecture ample et diverse, et en même temps tout instruit, ou ranime des souvenirs de lecture endormis. Molière en est plus vivant, il 'baigne,' selon l'expression d'Emile Faguet, 'dans son temps,' et il prend son juste relief dans la série des auteurs du genre comique.

Depuis que ce livre a paru, un auteur-critique français (M. Maurice Donnay) a marqué avec plus de précision à quel point, à partir du mariage de Molière, l'enchaînement des circonstances détermine le choix des sujets et le ton de chacune des œuvres destinées à la scène; on ne peut faire de cela un grief à M. Brander Matthews.

Les jugements de M. Brander Matthews sont toujours fortement assis; on s'étonnera cependant de voir expliquer (p. 72—3) le mariage tardif de Julie d'Angennes avec Montausier, par des répugnances du genre de celles que professe pour les réalités du conjungo l'Armande des *Femmes Savantes*, sans qu'il soit ici rien dit de la différence de religion, laquelle apparaît manifestement avoir été la cause principale de ce 'long retardement.' L'auteur juge avec une vraie sévérité Mme de Longueville, Mme de Sablé (dans les pages suivantes), et le portrait qu'il fait de Louis XIV (p. 140 et suivantes) est presque un réquisitoire.

M. Brander Matthews déclare (p. 108) ne rien savoir de l'adolescence d'Armande Béjart. On trouvera plus d'indications à ce sujet dans les cours d'Abel Lefranc ou dans les conférences de Maurice Donnay. P. 116, nous lisons: 'for mere invention Molière cared as little as Shakespeare,' mais p. 98–9, M. Brander Matthews avait admiré chez Molière la fécondité d'invention des intrigues, etc., mérite que d'ailleurs lui refusent beaucoup de ceux qui mettent Molière au-dessus de tous les autres auteurs dramatiques anciens ou modernes.

Dans le chapitre consacré à 'L'homme,' où Molière est comparé à Pascal, on s'étonnera peut-être de lire que la religion de Pascal est au même degré dénuée de poésie, et que Pascal, en religion, n'est que logique, lucide et éloquent. Ce sont les 'frémissements' de Pascal qui ont fait dire à un critique contemporain (Remy de Gourmont) que l'intelligence n'est qu'une sorte de précipité des émotions, qu'une sensibilité refroidie. M. Brander Matthews est évidemment aux antipodes de cette conception-là.

Je laisse de côté, avec regret, beaucoup de points qui prêtent à la discussion, où l'on pourrait saisir plus en détail comment l'auteur sent, procède et juge. Que les lecteurs de cette revue veuillent bien ne pas chercher dans un compte-rendu forcément incomplet ce qu'ils trouveront dans un livre bon et en général bien fait, avec autant de plaisir reconnaissant que j'en ai pris moi-même.

HENRI CHATELAIN.

BIRMINGHAM.

MINOR NOTICES.

The new edition of Professor Skeat's *Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1911) is a page for page reprint of the edition of 1901, with a certain number of corrections introduced, subject of course to the limitations of space. In a few instances corrections have been transferred from the Supplement to the text, as will be found under *dandriff, groin, gun, metheglin*, but alterations of this kind might easily have been carried a little further. For example, under *baste* (2) the account given in the Supplement might easily have been introduced into the text in a shortened form; again, the true etymology of *roan* might have been substituted for that given on p. 452; and under *tier* there might at least be a reference to the Supplement, in which the whole article on p. 557 is withdrawn. These, however, are minor points, which do not impair the general usefulness of this most convenient book of reference; and it may be added that a good many new words, and additional notes on words already dealt with, are added in the Supplement.

G. C. M.

In an age of anthologies a hearty welcome may be offered to the collection of 'superlative poems' selected and edited by Professors Dixon and Grierson (*The English Parnassus*, An Anthology of Longer Poems, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909). The range extends from Chaucer to Edward Fitzgerald, and most of the greater English poets find a place. It was certainly an act of valour on the part of the Professors of English at two Scottish universities to omit Henryson's *Testament of Cressid* and Sir Walter Scott's verse-tales from their list of selections; but it is questionable whether these omissions are justifiable. For the most part, however, the editors show excellent judgment in their choice; and students of literature as well as the general reader will be grateful to have placed before them in so accessible a form a *corpus* of poetry which is not only of salient excellence in itself, but also illustrates

the main lines of poetic development in the poetry of our land during the last five centuries. Admirers of Donne will be particularly gratified to find here 'The Second Anniversary.' Donne's shorter lyrics have found, in the last forty years, an ever widening circle of readers, but his longer poems are still far less known than they deserve to be.

The notes which are appended to this collection of poems are admirable. They are not so much notes as critical introductions to the poems which have gone before, and they invariably display ripe judgment and fine scholarship. Written in a lucid and graceful style, they again and again present to us some new and interesting aspect from which the poems under discussion may be regarded.

F. W. M.

Mr J. Le Gay Brereton's volume entitled *Elizabethan Drama: Notes and Studies* (Sydney, Brooks, 1909), coming to us from the ends of the earth, consists of reprints of papers, notes and reviews most of which will be familiar to those who have followed the critical literature of the Elizabethan drama during the last decade. We are informed, however, that the whole has been subjected to a thorough revision, and there are also a few additions at the end. That all the matter here gathered together was worth putting into permanent form may not perhaps strike the reader as self-evident, but when it is considered that the great bulk of the contributions consist of textual emendations, it will be realised that Mr Brereton has at least done a service to future critics and editors by making his labours in this field readily accessible. The word 'emendations' having been used, it should be explained that the suggestions advanced are as often defences of the text against the alterations of editors as the reverse. That any reader will agree in all points with Mr Brereton cannot be expected, perhaps few will agree even in a majority of cases, but nevertheless every conjecture here made will repay careful consideration by those concerned in the matters with which the writer deals.

W. W. G.

Miss Virginia C. Gildersleeve in *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1908) has given us a very valuable book which gathers together into relatively narrow compass a great quantity of material and discusses it with critical insight and imagination. If the interpretation of the often doubtful evidence that has come down to us occasionally fails to convince an independent reader, the book is nevertheless the chief contribution to the subject and will remain the starting point of future inquiry. There is one disadvantage under which the work suffers which may be mentioned here without disparagement. That is its necessary dependence on incorrect editions and untrustworthy reports. No one who has not worked over the whole of the original material can be altogether guarded against this source of error, and to take the

necessary precautions against it would be, if not the work of a lifetime, at least that of a man's or even a woman's best years. Nevertheless the drawback remains. I will only mention one trivial instance. The *Second Maiden's Tragedy* offers a most interesting study of the official censor's manner of dealing with a play. It is preserved in the manuscript copy licensed by Sir George Buc and contains numerous corrections and deletions. These have not unnaturally been credited to the censor, and the attribution is accepted by Miss Gildersleeve. Nevertheless close investigation shows that the great majority are due to the author. They may have been made under the censor's direction but they are not in his hand. Only three alterations and one deletion can be ascribed to Buc, and not all of these quite confidently. The critic gives some space to the consideration of this play, and I think quite rightly so, for it is a most interesting study: nevertheless it is necessary to point out that the evidence is not quite so certain as has been commonly supposed. This however is a small matter, and I repeat that in so far as her material is trustworthy Miss Gildersleeve's work is of real and permanent value.

W. W. G.

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June—August, 1911.

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